FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 152 *5 August 1983*

ALBANIA

Carcani Visits Lezhe District, Views Agriculture B 1
Successes of Construction Industry Reviewed B 2
Extension of Bulgarian Private Farming Noted B 3
Iranian Foreign Ministry Delegation in Tirana B 3

BULGARIA

Japanese Foreign Minister Begins Visit 5 Aug C 1
Leaders Attend Soviet Diplomatic Reception C 1
Visit by Fatah Delegation Ends 29 Jul C 1
Leaders' Greetings to Poland on National Day C 2
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Jul]
Alvarez-Led Cuban CP Delegation Departs 1 Aug C 3
Stanish Bonev Receives Congo Planning Minister C 3
Radio Reports Leader Appearances 24-30 Jul C 4

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker To Visit Poland in 'Mid-August' E 1
Briefs: New Envoy in Sudan; E 1
Outgoing Belgian Ambassador;
Outgoing Canadian Ambassador;
Harvest Reports; Grain Harvest Report;
Harvest Progress Report

HUNGARY

U.S. Stopping of USSR Ship 'Ulyanov' Reported F 1
Varkonyi Receives Iranian Delegation Head F 1
Briefs: New GDR Ambassador; F 1
GDR Construction Minister Arrives;
Delivery Agreement With USSR

POLAND

RZECZPOSPOLITA on Losses Caused by Sanctions G 1
Urban Conference With Foreign Journalists G 1
Comments on Amnesty G 2
Latest Amnesty Figures Released, Explained G 2
[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 2 Aug]
Reportage on Solidarity Plans, Activists G 3

Action Planned for 31 Aug [AFP] G 3
Wisniewski Surrenders G 3
Two Die 'Mysteriously' [AFP] G 3
Conference Held on Implementing Economic Plan G 4
[Markusz in TRYBUNA LUDU 2 Aug]
Jaruzelski Visits Soldiers, Youths, Work Corps G 5
Margueritte Views Poland After Martial Law G 6
[LE FIGARO 3 Aug]
Official Views Future of Economic Reform G 8
[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 1 Aug]
Minister Interviewed on Prices, Incomes, Market G 11
[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 28 Jul]
Citizens' Militia Official on Economic Crimes G 13
[TRYBUNA LUDU 29 Jul]
PZPR Official Interviewed on Cadre Policy G 15
[TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Aug]
Party Official on Gdansk Political Situation G 18
[RZECZYWISTOSC 24 Jul]

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Meets Japanese Foreign Minister Abe H 1
Delegate Addresses Geneva Antiracism Conference H 2
Briefs: Agreement With Argentina H 2

YUGOSLAVIA

Spiljak Discusses Macedonia, Stabilization I 1
Bulgaria Seen 'Usurping' Macedonian History I 9
Mamula on Stabilization at LCY Session I 10
[NARODNA ARMIJA No 2298 28 Jul]
Mamula Confers With GDR Defense Minister 4 Aug I 13
Increase in Slovenian Meat Prices Confirmed I 14

CARCANI VISITS LEZHE DISTRICT, VIEWS AGRICULTURE

AU270830 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Tirana, July 27 (ATA) -- The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani, made a visit in Lezhe District. He was accompanied by the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai.

Comrade Adil Carcani had a meeting with cadres of the party power, economy, and mass organisations in one of the halls of the district party committee building.

The chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, Dode Gjika informed him of the work going on there to put into life the decisions of the 8th congress of the party. After speaking of the results of these two years and a half of this five-year plan in the field of economy, education, culture, health, and defence, he said that over this year, they took in 25,600 quintals of wheat over the plan and a yield of 37.6 quintals of wheat per hectare from 34.6 quintals of wheat per hectare that was the task. He pointed out also the achievements scored in other sectors during this period of time.

Cadres of the economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives spoke at the meeting as well. They spoke of the experience and the successes of their working collectives and at the same time, expressed their confidence that due to the measures taken, they will carry forward the hitherto achievements and will close this year with realised tasks in all the fronts.

Amidst the applauses of those present, Comrade Adil Carcani took the floor. He conveyed to all the working people, Communists, cadres, and specialists of Lezhe District the greetings of the Central Committee of the party and of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha personally. He congratulated them also on the achievements in all the fields of the productive and social activity, especially in wheat production.

Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that in general the agricultural products are setting well this year in Lezhe District and all over the country. The inspiration and mobilization aroused by Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter addressed to the working people of agriculture should serve to intensify the work to carry out the necessary services and to take in time the measures for their harvesting and processing.

All the successes we have achieved, he said further on, are determined by the decisive factor, that is the working man, educated and tempered by the party; therefore, we should soundly base on the revolutionary thought and action of the masses in the realisation of the planned tasks.

Congratulating for the results scored in the industrial production, Comrade Adil Carcani emphasized that the plan should be considered as realised, not only when it is realised in general, but in all its economic-financial indexes, when the effectiveness is always in the center of the attention.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke also of some problems of the international arena as well as on the lessons we should draw to sharpen the vigilance, to strengthen the defence potential, and to keep aloft the revolutionary spirit to translate into life the great tasks of the 8th congress of the party.

Comrade Adil Carcani's speech was listened to with great attention by those present and was frequently punctuated by applauses and cheers for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Comrade Adil Carcani attended the meeting of the executive committee of the people's district council which discussed the study of the creation of a new plantation fruit trees of 1,250 hectares.

Taking the floor in the meeting, Comrade Adil Carcani evaluated the study made on this plantation and said that a better cooperation should be established between agriculture and trade for the supply of the people with fruits and with industry for their processing. Besides others, he instructed that the ensuring of the labour force, especially their technical-professional training, the large-scale introduction of the mechanisation of the work processes, transport, etc, should be borne well in mind.

Over his stay in Lezhe District, Comrade Adil Carcani paid a visit to the agricultural cooperative of Kallmet, where he was welcomed with love and enthusiasm by hundreds of cooperative members.

This economy is attaining high results. The plan of wheat production was overfulfilled by 2,250 quintals. The tasks in milk, vegetables production have been overfulfilled as well. The cooperative members of this economy are working hard to take high yields in other plants too.

After congratulating on the successes scored, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that the growth of production through the non-stop increase of the yields led and will lead up to the continuous improvement of the standard of living of the cooperativists. He pointed out the great possibilities created by the socialist order for higher results in the future, by widely applying the discoveries of science and the advanced technology in production.

Comrade Adil Carcani visited also the "Ylli i Kuq" agricultural cooperative of Bregu i Mates. This year, this economy produced 4,50[illegible] quintals of wheat over the plan. It has also realised all the other indexes.

Amongst the joy of those present, Comrade Adil Carcani spoke at the rally organised on the occasion. The main aims of our party and socialist state, he stressed among others, is the constant increase of the material and cultural level of the people. A vivid expression of this care is the reality in the cooperative of Bregu i Mates. You have all the possibilities to realise greater tasks, to manage to take up to 100 quintals of maize, 50-60 quintals of wheat over 20 quintals of sun flower per hectare etc, in all the planted area. For this you have a sound material-technical base, which quarantees the realisation of these objectives, but it should be used effectively.

SUCCESSES OF CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY REVIEWED

AU041351 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 4 Aug 83

["Achievements by the Working People of Building Sector" -- ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 4 /ATA/ -- Today is the Builder's Day in Albania. They come to this beautiful celebration with many successes, with new projects handed over in time and with quality, conscious of ever greater tasks that lie ahead of them in implementation of the decisions of the 8th congress of the party.

Suffices it to mention that the volume of constructions to be carried out during the 7th Five Year Plan only by the enterprises of the Ministry of Construction is 32.9 per cent higher than that of the last five year plan. Work will go on in 300 projects, out of which 500 are productive ones; 36 thousand dwelling flats will be built or 2.3 times more than during the last five year plan.

During this year the collectives of the building enterprises will work in nearly 40 percent of all the industrial projects envisaged in the 7th Five Year Plan and will hand over 50 percent of them. As a result of the constant increase of the level of prefabrication, the building time of different projects has been reduced. The products of the industry of building materials are diversified and meet ever better the increasing needs. Everywhere work is going on under the slogan "Let us build more quickly, better, and cheaper". During the first 6 month period the builders handed over 300 projects, about 2,500 dwelling flats, etc. Meanwhile, many other projects such as the factory of the production of sunflower oil in Berat, the factory of the sauce production in Durres, the extension of the plant of the agricultural tools in Tirana, the complex of turkey rearing in Durres, the brick factory in Lezhe, the extension of the refrigerator enterprise in Korce, etc., are under construction. Reports on new successes come from the enterprise of industrial construction in Lac, the "21 Ohjetori" building enterprise in Tirana, that of the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, the building enterprises in Durres, Shkoder, Korce, Elbasan, Gjirokaster, etc.

EXTENSION OF BULGARIAN PRIVATE FARMING NOTED

AU041342 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 3 Aug 83

[Text] Recent reports by BTA testify to the fact that 1,066,000 private landowners are operating in Bulgaria. Their plots, which extend over an area of 650,000 hectares, provide 25 percent of the total agricultural produce and 34 percent of livestock products. Thirty-eight percent of all sheep, 47 percent of poultry, and 31 percent of pigs and cows are raised on these plots. In 1982, private plots accounted for 56.5 percent of eggs, 35 percent of meat, 27 percent of milk, 32 percent of wool, and so forth. The BTA report states that the owners of land and pastures receive agricultural machinery, fertilizers, and other things from the state. Most of the produce grown on the private sector is sold on the black market at prices which are 100 percent more than state prices.

IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY DELEGATION IN TIRANA

AU041838 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] A delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran arrived today in our country. It is led by political director (Mummad Sade).

JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER BEGINS VISIT 5 AUG

AU050822 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 5 Aug 83

[Text] At the invitation of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, Shintaro Abe, minister of foreign affairs of Japan, has arrived in Bulgaria. The Japanese Foreign Minister was welcomed by Comrade Petur Mladenov, deputy ministers, and high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The official visit of Shintaro Abe will cover an exchange of views on bilateral and international issues that will contribute to consolidating the friendly ties and cooperation between Bulgaria and Japan in the interest of peace and international understanding.

LEADERS ATTEND SOVIET DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION

AU040806 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 3 Aug 83

[Text] On 3 August, Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a cocktail party on the embassy premises on the final departure of Major General Valeriy Dzanagov, USSR military attache in Bulgaria, and the arrival of the new attache, Colonel (Giviy Ordzhonikidze). The cocktail party, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrade Ognyan Doynov; Colonel General Velko Palin, BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department head; Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, commander of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army and first deputy minister of national defense; Nacho Papazov, chairman of the All-National Committee for Bulgarian Soviet Friendship; generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army; and ambassadors and military attaches of the socialist countries accredited in Bulgaria.

VISIT BY FATAH DELEGATION ENDS 29 JUL

AU291922 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, July 29 (BTA) -- An "Al Fatah" delegation, led by Mr Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), member of the Central Committee of the organization, was on visit here from July 24 to 29 at the invitation of the Bulgarian Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia and Africa.

During its stay in Bulgaria the "Al Fatah" delegation had talks with a delegation of the Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia and Africa, led by Mr Nenko Chendov, deputy-chairman of the committee. The delegation also had meetings at the National Council of the Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian Red Cross.

The "Al Fatah" delegation was recived by Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP and minister of internal affairs.

At the talks, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, the two sides exchanged views and stands on topical problems of the international situation, the situation in the Middle East and the struggle of the Palestinian people.

Voiced was the deep concern with the exacerbation of the international situation at the fault of American imperialism, and especially with the Middle East developments.

The two sides denounced the continuing aggression of the Israeli Zionists against the Palestinian and the Lebanese people, the support rendered by the United States of America to Israel in realization of its aggressive goals, as well as the striving to expand the Camp David agreements through the so-called Reagan plan for "solving" the Middle East conflict.
It was underlined that the settling of the Middle East issue and the solving of the Palestinian problem cannot be achieved in any way without, and even less against the will of the Palestinian people, who under the guidance of the Palestine Liberation Organization -- their sole legitimate representative -- wage a heroic battle for their freedom and independence. It was pointed out in this connexion that for the success of this struggle it is necessary to have complete unity and coordination of actions of all the detachments of the Palestinian resistance and of the other Arab democratic, patriotic and progressive forces.

Emphasized was the firm confidence that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only after the complete withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied in 1967 and later, after the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their native lands, to self-determination and to establishing their own state. A good basis for this are the decisions of the Pan-Arab conference in Fes and of the 16th session of the Palestinian National Council, which actually coincide with the proposals of the Soviet Union for the settling of the Middle East conflict. In this light was expressed the stand that a practical way for the solving of the problem is the calling of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The "Al Fatah" delegation highly assessed and expressed its gratitude for the moral, political and material help rendered by Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people to the just cause and struggle of the Palestinian people.

LEADERS' GREETINGS TO POLAND ON NATIONAL DAY

AU271150 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jul 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, and to Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PPR State Council:

Dearest comrades, on the occasion of your national holiday -- the anniversary of the rebirth of Poland -- we convey to you, to the PZPR Central Committee, to the State Council and Council of Ministers of the PPR, and to the fraternal Polish people the most sincere congratulations on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people, and ourselves.

Your country's liberation from fascism, accomplished thanks to the struggles of the Polish Communists and all patriots in your country, and with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, opened a new page in the history of Poland. Over the last 39 years, the Polish people, under the leadership of the PZPR, in close cooperation with the USSR, and with the other fraternal, socialist countries, rebuilt their country, which had been devastated by Hitlerite fascism, and achieved great successes in this social, economic, and cultural development.

Bulgarian Communists, the working people in our country are greeting with joy the progress achieved in the normalization of the situation in the PPR. They support the efforts of the PZPR and the people's government, as well as all patriotic forces in Poland devoted to the further consolidation of socialism. The Bulgarian Communists and the working people in our country resolutely denounce the attempts of imperialism to interfere in the domestic affairs of the PPR.

We express our satisfaction with the fact that relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PPR are constantly expanding and developing in the interests of both our peoples, in the interest of the socialist community, in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace. The Bulgarian Communists and all our people are also inspired with the firm resolve to continue actively in the future to work for the further expansion and intensification of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and parties, between our two countries, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the spirit of the friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance treaty signed between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PPR.

The BCP, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and our people highly appreciate the PPR's contribution to the Warsaw Pact and CEMA organizations, the joint struggle of the socialist countries in consolidating peace, against the nuclear threat, for stopping the arms race, and promoting disarmament.

Dearest comrades, we pray you accept our most sincere wishes for new successes in the consolidation and construction of socialist society in the PPR, in the further, comprehensive upsurge of the fraternal, Polish people, in the struggle for the triumph of peace and socialism.

ALVAREZ-LED CUBAN CP DELEGATION DEPARTS 1 AUG

AU011958 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] On 1 August, the delegation of the Cuban Communist Party, led by Juliano Rizo Alvarez, member of the Party Central Committee Secretariat, departed from Bulgaria. The delegation visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee. At Sofia Airport, the delegation was seen off by Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, Angel Bobokov, BCP Central Committee Agricultural Department head; and by responsible officials of the BCP Central Committee apparatus. Eustaquios Remedios de los Cuetos, Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

STANISH BONEV RECEIVES CONGO PLANNING MINISTER

AU021318 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 2 Aug 83

[Text] On 2 August, Stanish Bonev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, received Pierre Moussa, minister of planning of the People's Republic of Congo.

During the discussion, the guest expressed interest in Bulgaria's past and present experience in planning. He was briefed in detail on the execution of this important process in our economy during the years of socialist construction. The talks took place in a friendly atmosphere.

RADIO REPORTS LEADER APPEARANCES 24-30 JUL

AU301543 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its newscasts between 24 and 30 July, notes the following appearances by Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcast noted in parentheses):

Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, attended the opening of an exhibition in Pleven by painter Svetlin Rusev (1900 GMT 25 July). Lilov and Yordanov, accompanied by Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee secretary and first secretary of Sofia City party committee, also attended the funeral of the painter Kunev in Sofia (1730 GMT 26 July). Yordanov also received the Greek composer Theordorakis in Sofia (1930 GMT 27 July).

Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, attended a celebration organized by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia on the occasion of eighth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act (1500 GMT 27 July).

Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a Lovech Okrug party plenum on economic matters and production quality, held in Lovech (0900 GMT 30 July).

HONECKER TO VISIT POLAND IN 'MID-AUGUST'

LD042221 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1659 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Berlin, 4 Aug (ADN) -- At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland, a GDR party and state delegation is to pay an official friendship visit to Poland in mid-August. The delegation will be headed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of state.

BRIEFS

NEW ENVOY TO SUDAN -- Khartoum (ADN) -- Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, on Saturday received Walter Worch, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR, for the presentation of credentials. On this occasion Walter Worch conveyed to the president the personal greetings from GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker, which were reciprocated. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

OUTGOING BELGIAN AMBASSADOR -- On Tuesday Paul Verner, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, received for a farewell visit Dr Cyriel M. Lemmens, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Belgium. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

OUTGOING CANADIAN AMBASSADOR -- On Wednesday Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received John MacLeod Fraser, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Canada, for a farewell visit. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

HARVEST REPORTS -- GDR farmers are continuing to harvest grain particularly on the light soils of the central bezirke. Thus far, more than 30,000 hectares sown with rye have been harvested. The rape harvest began in some bezirke such as Rostock, Potsdam, and Neubrandenburg. This year rape is being grown in 122,300 hectares. It is a most important competition target of the farmers to sow new crops immediately after collecting the harvest. Thus far, nearly 184,000 hectares, that is 21.9 percent of the planned area, have been sown with new crops. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jul 83 pp 1, 2 AU]

GRAIN HARVEST REPORT -- By Tuesday GDR cooperative farmers had collected grain from one-third of the area sown with that crop. Cottbus and Potsdam Bezirke have thus far achieved the highest daily increases, of more than 5 percent. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jul 83 p 1 AU]

HARVEST PROGRESS REPORT -- By Wednesday grain had been harvested on nearly 924,000 hectares in the GDR. With some 85,000 hectares, that is 3.4 percent of the area under grain cultivation, the cooperative farmers have scored the highest daily increase in this year's harvesting campaign thus far. Rye, summer barley, and wheat are now ripening simultaneously, and the cooperative farmers are doing all they can to reduce harvesting and transport losses. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 83 p 1 AU]

U.S. STOPPING OF USSR SHIP 'ULYANOV' REPORTED

LD042020 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] President Reagan is accusing the Soviet Union of supplying Salvadoran rebels with combat helicopters, weapons, and missiles via Nicaraguan territory. A statement by the President's spokesman even cites among others, the Soviet cargo ship "Aleksandr Ulyanov", which recently sailed through the Panama Canal and -- I quote -- the Soviet and Cuban maneuvers that undermine the stability of the region. After this it is no wonder that the commander of the U.S. destroyer Lynde McCormick felt authorized to try and arrest the Soviet civilian ship on the open seas. As you can see, the cargo of the "Aleksandr Ulyanov" consists not of helicopters but of soil cultivators and other machinery intended for peaceful purposes. Other Soviet ships were bringing grain. And these shots were made by a reporter of the U.S. television company ABC in the port of Corinto.

It would be easy to settle this matter by saying that Reagan and his spokesman have thoroughly blundered with these accusations. Only, this is not an April fools' joke but a very serious affair. The point at issue is that if, to quote the words of this morning's SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, one of the hotbeds of the world seems like cooling down, then Washington immediately makes sure there is another, because without the activation of more and more crisis zones the present White House general policy cannot be implemented.

VARKONYI RECEIVES IRANIAN DELEGATION HEAD

LD041148 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] An Iranian delegation, headed by the head of a political department of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has held talks in Budapest. The delegation spent 3 days in Budapest, during which it had talks at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Transport. Head of the delegation Sadr called on Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, and Istvan Hetenyi, minister of finance.

BRIEFS

NEW GDR AMBASSADOR -- Rezso Trautmann, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council, on Friday received Ambassador Karl-Heinz Lugenheim, new ambassador of the GDR in Hungary, who presented his credentials. The presentation was attended by Robert Garai, deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Jul 83 p 20 AU]

GDR CONSTRUCTION MINISTER ARRIVES -- At the invitation of Kalman Abraham, minister of construction and urban development, GDR Minister of Construction Wolfgang Junker has arrived in Hungary. They will have talks on further developing cooperation in construction between the two countries. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jul 83 p 3 AU]

DELIVERY AGREEMENT WITH USSR -- On the occasion of the visit of a Hungarian party-government delegation, an agreement was concluded at the Soviet Union's Ministry of Foreign Trade between the Babolna agricultural combine and the Soviet Traktoroeksport enterprise in Moscow on 22 July. Under the agreement, the combine will deliver to the Soviet Union a mechanized system that produces over 10 million broiler chickens annually. [Summary] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Jul 83 p 3 AU]

RZECZPOSPOLITA ON LOSSES CAUSED BY SANCTIONS

LD041812 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 4 Aug -- In an article commenting on the losses suffered by Polish economy as a result of the "undeclared economic war initiated by President Reagan's administration" RZECZPOSPOLITA stated that the most painful consequences were brought about by refusal of promised or negotiated credits. In 1982 Poland got import credits worth 1,475 million dollars instead of the expected 3 billion. It looks like Poland would be able to secure only 400 million in commercial credits in 1983.

Credit in international trade (?is the) universally accepted form of selling certain goods, the paper stressed. The refusal to grant such a credit is a sanction which aims at causing economic difficulties for an importer country.

Credit restrictions influenced Polish food economy in the most severe way. The deliveries [words indistinct] went down from 7,173 thousand tonnes in the year 1980-1981 to 3,322 thousand tonnes in the year 1982/1983. It resulted in the decrease of production of poultry by 74 per cent, eggs by 21 per cent and pigs by 17 per cent. The shortage of various components previously imported on credit terms resulted in the drop of food industry production by more than 95 billion zlotys in 1982. The level of the protein production went down also because of the suspension of Polish fishing fleet's right to catch in the U.S. fishing zone. It is enough to say that in 1981 the catches in these waters amounted to 180,000 to nil.

This means that President Reagan deprived every Pole of more than 5 kilogrammes of fish a year, not to mention the financial losses of the Polish fleet.

URBAN CONFERENCE WITH FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

LD041946 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban met foreign journalists in Warsaw. He said, among other things, that the government highly appreciates the initiative of the Catholic Church concerning agricultural aid. He also said that the Western press has reported on the sum of about DM5 billion, which would flow via Church channels to aid this branch of the economy. Many misunderstandings arose about the sum because in the view of Church experts, it reflects the assessment of needs, and intentions -- not the Church's financial ability. The Polish Government presumes that if some sums will be available for the purpose, they should not create additional state obligations abroad.

The government is ready to allow the establishment of the foundation that would operate within the framework of legal order in force in our country. The government proposed that eventual resources gathered by the foundation would be earmarked for aid to the most vital needs of agriculture and industry working for agriculture.

Jerzy Urban referred to the statement by members of the Provisional Coordinating Commission operating underground. He stressed that they have understood nothing, lack the sense of reality, are socially isolated, and have no program to offer to their supporters. He also said that they have a chance to make use of amnesty and should think about this because time passes by relentlessly.

Replying to a question, the spokesman denied rumors about alleged discussions in progress on the alteration of supreme authorities in Poland.

Comments on Amnesty

LD042035 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2000 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Excerpt] Jerzy Urban also said that as of 3 August, more than 3,500 people have availed themselves of the amnesty, while 710 citizens had left penal establishments and detention. People who had carried on illegal activity are coming out of hiding, including the underground leadership of the so-called Confederation of an Independent Poland.

LATEST AMNESTY FIGURES RELEASED, EXPLAINED

AU041703 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 83 p 2

[PAP report: "Some 2,300 People Have Already Taken Advantage of the Amnesty"]

[Text] During the last few days courts and prosecuting bodies have been implementing the provisions of the Amnesty Law. Appraisals made by the Ministry of Justice indicate that the law's regulations are being applied very smoothly. According to Romuald Soroko, director of the Court Supervision Department of the Ministry of Justice, almost 1,800 persons had taken advantage of the benevolence of the amnesty by 1 August on the basis of the decisions made by general courts.

This group includes almost 150 women and about 100 juveniles. For over a third of the total number of people, that is 650 of them, the universal act of mercy meant they could leave their former place of hiding. General courts had severely penalized 727 persons during this period by sentencing them to deprivation of freedom. Some 79 of them had perpetrated crimes of a political nature, and 260 of the original 727 had previously inadvertently commited some common crimes. The difference between the aforementioned group of 650 who were released form prison and the subsequent figure of 727 is only slight. A certain group of those who were sentenced to imprisonment were given the opportunity to serve their sentences in stages, and the benevolence of the amnesty means they will not have to return to prison. Other sentences, for example, restrictions on freedom and fines, were also remitted. Almost 400 people received positive decisions in this matter.

Court verdicts also eased severe sentences involving prison terms of more than 3 years. This part of the amnesty has, so far, applied to 54 people, 31 of whom are the perpetrators of crimes that were politically motivated. Proceedings were discontinued with regard to 172 such people, as were the cases of 795 persons who had committed common crimes inadvertently.

The amnesty also plans to revoke previously imposed temporary arrests and it was due to this that court verdicts ordered the release of 108 people, including 10 women and 8 juveniles. Here, we would like to add that all through last week prosecuting bodies were examining cases where this preventive measure could be withdrawn. As a result, temporary arrests were dropped in relation to 239 people.

It was for humanitarian reasons that the Amnesty Law applied to perpetrators who were older than was specified by the law, and those who were single parents or guardians for children under 16 up to the day the law became valid. Some 42 persons had taken advantage of the amnesty's benevolence by 1 August.

Military courts are also practicing the Amnesty Law's resolutions. Almost 200 persons have already taken advantage of a positive ruling in this sphere. Until now, the amnesty has embraced almost 2,300, if we put the verdicts issued by general and military courts and prosecuting bodies together. That is, 2,300 individual cases pertaining to people for whom the benevolence of the amnesty could mean a great deal. For many of them, the courts' verdicts of a release from imprisonment will certainly be some sort of turning-point in their lives. Time will show if they will be capable of understanding this and appreciating it.

REPORTAGE ON SOLIDARITY PLANS, ACTIVISTS

Action Planned for 31 Aug

NC042028 Paris AFP in English 2014 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 4 (AFP) -- The banned trade union Solidarity is planning further action for August 31, the third anniversary of the Gdansk agreements, leader Lech Walesa said today. He was speaking at a meeting in Gdansk of former political prisoners freed under Poland's Amnesty Law.

Witnesses said Mr. Walesa considered the proposed two-hour boycott of public transport would not have enough effect, although he rejected the idea of strike action. "There will be other decisions before the end of the month", he said. "I cannot reveal what they are. I cannot show all my cards, but I still have one up my sleeve". Mr. Walesa went on to state his conviction that the Solidarity movement and its ideals would eventually triumph. "We must wait for the third stage", he said. "The first was the 16 months of Solidarity, the second has been going on since December, 1981, when martial law was declared. We won the first stage and we will win the new."

Father Henryk Jankowski, chaplain to the Gdansk shipyard workers and a close friend of Mr Walesa, added a plea that those still in prison for political reasons should not be forgotten.

Wisniewski Surrenders

LD042233 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Three persons who committed crimes during martial law or after its suspension who now wish to benefit from the amnesty, recently gave themselves up to the investigative bodies in Szczecin. Among them is Stanislaw Wisniewski. He was a strike organizer in the Warski shipyard in August 1980, the author of the bulletin, "Unity," and then member of the NSZZ Solidarity shipyard factory committee. After the imposition of martial law he went into hiding. In an interview with GLOS SZCZECINSKI he stated that the main motive for his coming out from hiding was a positive assessment of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and visible and favorable results of stabilization in our country. I think, he said, that further hiding by other former Solidarity union activists makes no sense.

Two Die 'Mysteriously'

NC041548 Paris AFP in English 1537 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 4 (AFP) -- Two former Solidarity militants have died in mysterious circumstances, according to the latest issue of the underground publication, TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE.

Solidarity's weekly for the Warsaw area said Andrzej Gasiewski, 29, was found dead in a railway line on June 17, a few days after he was questioned by the militia. Mr Gasiewski, who worked at the Nuclear Research Institute in Warsaw, was taken in for questioning as he was on his way home, carrying a Solidarity flag, from a mass conducted by Pope John Paul II. He was fined for "disturbing public order" -- and paid up at once. But he never arrived home and no post mortem or inquiry was ordered when his body was found, the Solidarity weekly said.

The other death reported was that of Ryszard Kowalski, from Katowice in the southern province of Silesia, who was found dead in a river after being missing for two months. The publication said Mr. Kowalski, former Solidarity leader at the Katowice steelworks, disappeared on February 7 shortly after his release from prison, where he had been held for a year without trial.

CONFERENCE HELD ON IMPLEMENTING ECONOMIC PLAN

AU041426 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Aug 83 pp 1-2

[J. Markusz report: "The Party's Tasks in Implementing the Economic Plan: Conference in the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] In the PZPR Central Committee building on 1 August there was a conference of economic secretaries, heads of voivodship committee departments, and factory committee first secretaries active inside ministries. The economic results of the first half of the year were discussed and forecasts were made to the end of the year, and against this background the tasks facing party cells and organizations were viewed.

Stanislaw Gebala, head of the Central Committee Economic Department, stressed that the economy is the main battle front today. The activity of party cells and organizations is a determining factor in strengthening the bridgeheads of this battle.

Despite numerous barriers and difficulties, we have managed to achieve generally favorable results in the first half of the year. Industrial production rose by 8.2 percent compared to the same period last year. The tasks of housing construction are being exceeded for the first time in many years, though there is still a long way to go before society can feel an improvement in this sphere. A certain improvement in market supplies, especially food, is also evident.

The basic task facing party organizations and cells is to strengthen these positive trends. The improved mechanisms of economic reform should help here. However, this demands that the still numerous barriers and dangers be overcome more effectively than up to now.

There is no doubt that the basic cause of reduced production is the limited supplies of raw materials, fuels, and energy. This problem can only be solved by saving, and by a wide-scale rationalization of their consumption. Yet no improvement has been noted in this respect during the first half of the year, it was stated during the conference. What is worse, most of the savings programs that have been worked out by plants are only superficial. They are limited to straightforward reserves and do not reach to the sources of the wastage. This is because these programs are drawn up without the participation of the work forces and the participation of engineering and technical cadres is rather small. On the initiative of voivodship committees and factory committees, a review has been made of these programs in many voivodships, and on the basis of this assessment enterprise leaderships have been made to improve them.

The same applies to anti-inflation programs. Although the inflation rate dropped to a certain extent during the first half of the year, the problem has not ceased to exist. Dangers are still occurring here, especially as a result of the continuing trend to raise wages more quickly than planned, while supplies of goods are still not growing quickly enough. Hence there is a need to seek ways of increasing production wherever possible, and basing wages on productivity. The anti-inflation programs in enterprises should be adapted to these goals.

The shortage of workers is generally criticized. Indeed, the number of employees in many enterprises is falling, especially in production departments. This is all the worse because working hours have decreased very much in recent years due to the introduction of free Saturdays and educational vacations, and also due to absenteeism, which is still large.

The prime need, therefore, is to rationalize the cadre base. Yet nothing in improving concerning employment, neither in enterprises nor in other sectors of the economy and administration, it was said during the conference. On the contrary, in many cases the gap between the number of employees involved in production and the total number of employees is widening.

A dangerous phenomenon is the deteriorating quality of products. This concerns goods both for the domestic market and for exports. Producers blame various difficulties, especially difficulties with supply and coproduction. Yet, hardly anyone draws any conclusions from complaints made by shops and customers and from checks made by specialized units. And it emerges from these complaints and checks that we are in the midst of general wastage.

It was indicated during the conference that party cells and organizations have an important role to play in overcoming all these discrepancies and barriers. Acting jointly with workers' self-management bodies, trade unions, youth organizations, and organizations governed by the chief technical organization, party organizations and cells will create a social climate encouraging better management. The point is quite simply to convince people that we are not "doomed" to experience a crisis. An improvement in management depends, above all, on us.

JARUZELSKI VISITS SOLDIERS, YOUTHS, WORK CORPS

LD042134 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 4 Aug -- Direct meetings between the party and state leadership and representatives of various occupational and social communities have become an important form of authentic dialogue between the authorities and society in the process of socialist renewal. A new example of such dialogue was the visit paid by PUWP CC first secretary, Prime Minister Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski to soldiers, youth and farmers in places of their work and recreation last August 3 and 4.

On Wednesday morning National Defence Minister Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski visited a testing ground of the Pomorian military district where he watched part of exercises of a mechanized unit. Like all soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces, during 585 days of martial law in our country soldiers of that unit won universal respect and appreciation for their attitude, patriotism, for their allround activities carried out in the name of the most vital interests of the state and nation. The cadre and soldiers of that unit also distinguished themselves in the recent period during exercises of the allied Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces on the GDR territory.

The keynote of the dialogue between officers, soldiers and their highest ranking superior were the most vital problems of military service and Army work for the country.

General Jaruzelski watched with satisfaction the high level of combat skills presented during the exercises. He was interested in soldiers' living conditions and recreational opportunities as well as aspirations and plans for their future life after ending the military service and returning their families and civilian occupations. General Jaruzelski's meeting with soldiers at the testing site became a weighty highlight of the 40th anniversary jubilee of the Polish People's Army.

The Polish soldier, linked with durable ties of class alliance and brotherhood in arms with the soldiers of the armies of the socialist community, the Soviet Armed Forces in particular, is an unfailing defender of Poland's independence, security and peace.

In the afternoon, the prime minister visited pathfinders of the Elblag region camping on vacations at Piecnik village near Kalisz Pomorski, northern Poland. The general was invited to see the tents, camping kitchen and cantine. A joint photograph will be undoubtedly a token of great sentimental value for the participants in the camp.

The last leg of Wednesday's visits made talks with the participants of the 1st national rally of the student voluntary work corps in Walcz where students from Vietnam, Peru, Madagascar, Nigeria, Kenya and Jordan work and relax together with their Polish colleagues. The general [word indistinct] talked to the Vietnamese students. Already this October they will begin studies at Polish higher schools, at the Szczecin Technical University for example. Said a future student of the technical university shipbuilding faculty: "I come from a village which lies 90 kilometres from Hanoi. We feel in Poland like among real friends."

"I congratulate you on your choice of studies. Good specialists in this field are necessary for both the economy of your and our country," said the prime minister. "I am sure that you will have good memories of your stay in Poland. Our nation which has had ample experience of war atrocities has special respect and friendship for the heroic Vietnamese people."

MARGUERITTE VIEWS POLAND AFTER MARTIAL LAW

PM041340 Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 Aug 83 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Jaruzelski's Tortuous Path"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Seen from outside the Polish Government's policy may seem tortuous and hesitant even if it moves forward eventually, characterized by the method of "two steps forward, one step back." For instance martial law is lifted, but "compensatory measures" are introduced, most of which are soon eliminated.

One week later a proposed hardening of the Penal Code and censorship is put forward but some of its most drastic clauses are withdrawn at the last minute. Agreement will probably soon be given to the opening of a Church-supported fund to help private agriculture, which will probably be seen as an ideological aberration by the other socialist countries.

Critical Support

How can these hesitations be explained? Where is General Jaruzelski's Poland going?

In this fluid situation two certainties nonetheless exist:

1 -- The head of state intends to achieve as effective and "democratic" a socialism as is possible in this part of the world. This view is not likely to satisfy the present aspirations of a population which for the 17 months of Solidarity's existence sustained vast dreams of freedom, but it is probably the best possible one for Poland "things being as they are."

2 -- The party "hard-liners," and even a large section of the apparatus, are more hostile than ever to any kind of democratization, which seems to them to contain the seeds of a repetition of threats from which they have only just escaped.

The future of Gen Jaruzelski's Poland will therefore be determined by a whole series of factors, of which the following are the main ones:

-- Development of relations between the government and the population: The lifting of martial law and the amnesty are creating a favorable situation here. The authorities are beginning to see marked successes. One of them is the fact that the Interregional Defense Committee, grouping clandestine Solidarity over 15 regions, has come out of hiding; its appeal, signed in particular by a member of Solidarity's presidium, has opened dialogue with the government. There is clearly a growing conviction in intellectual circles and among prominent moderates that Gen Jaruzelski is the best or the least evil option.

Since the other alternative is not a return by Solidarity but a transition to neo-Stalinism, many Poles are wondering whether they should not give the general critical support. In any case this has long been the attitude of the Church and Primate Glemp. Moreover, this is why the presentation of two "tough" bills to the Sejm (fortunately moderated at the last minute) was a political aberration since it curbed this favorable evolution for the government for a time.

Andropov's Confidence

-- Development of the economic situation: Despite some progress, the state of the national economy continues to be worrying. If it were to deteriorate and necessitate new austerity measures, first, the economic reform would become an illusion and, second, there would be increasing discontent likely to take the country back into the vicious circle of repression and explosion. Indeed it is difficult to envisage democratization without an improvement in the economic situation.

-- Normalization of relations with the West: It is essential for Gen Jaruzelski to be able to show his party's "hard-liners," but also Moscow, that his appeasement and reform policy enables him to obtain success not only inside the country but also in the West. Moreover, the lifting of martial law undoubtedly enabled the head of state to note considerable progress in this sphere -- jeopardized for a time by the recent Sejm debate. The West's reactions are much more diverse and moderate (as Mr Strauss' attitude showed) and the intergovernmental economic negotiations will probably be able to resume after the working meeting in Paris. Thus, economic sanctions could gradually be eased.

-- Relations with Moscow and the "fraternal countries": The general seems to enjoy Mr Andropov's full confidence. It will be confirmed to him during his forthcoming visit to the Crimea. But the party "hard-liners" also have their correspondents in Moscow, and in East Berlin and Prague. It is not easy to completely resist their pressures, which are being exerted particularly with a view to harmonizing legislation in the socialist countries, in other words hardening Polish law. Of course, this jeopardizes the internal reconciliation, and that certainly does not displease the "hard-liners."

-- Development of the balance of forces between Gen Jaruzelski and the apparatus: Although the lifting of martial law created more possibilities for reviving national dialogue and achieving understanding for the general's attitude from broad sections of society, it also deprived the head of state of the Army's strong shield. The party apparatus is agitating throughout the country and the dogmatists seem to have the majority within it almost everywhere. This is also true in the Central Committee and even the Politburo.

They are all the more active since the lifting of martial law has, on the one hand, increased their fears and their anxieties at the population's reaction and, on the other hand, created in their eyes the conditions for a return to party rule.

Furthermore, the "nomenklatura shirkers," who are only where they are as a result of the principle of "negative selection," know full well that any reform policy will sooner or later lead to their natural elimination. They are determined to stop at nothing and the general has an extremely difficult task with them, which explains the complexity of his approach.

The Dogmatists' Attacks

-- Development of East-West relations: Finally, it must be admitted that, irrespective of all internal factors, the Polish situation will ultimately be determined by the development of relations between Washington and Moscow in the near future. The conclusion of a modus vivendi between Mr Reagan and Mr Andropov would enable Gen Jaruzelski to bring his party apparatus into line and implement his policy of reforms and gradual national reconciliation. A confrontation between East and West, on the other hand, would make the head of state's position untenable in the face of attacks from his own dogmatists. A temporary solution might be seen, in this connection, during the great ideological plenum in the fall.

The nature of post-martial law in Poland thus depends on many factors and many uncertainties. This shows how little room to maneuver Gen Jaruzelski has. It is true that he has so far succeeded in implementing his plan with iron tenacity. The new position he is holding, increasingly on the dividing line between the party apparatus' demands and the population's aspirations -- in other words above the fray to some extent -- seems to increase his chances of success.

OFFICIAL VIEWS FUTURE OF ECONOMIC REFORM

AU040715 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Aug 83 p 3

[Henryk Chadzynski interview with Andrzej Wroblewski, adviser to the government plenipotentiary for the economic reform: "Not the Rigors, but the Conditions of the Crisis"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Chadzynski] A change is occurring in the essence of many regulations which were adopted along with the end of martial law, regulations that are normalizing the functioning of many of our affairs. In what way is this also true of the economy?

[Wroblewski] From the beginning of martial law, certain rigors have been imposed on our economy and have influenced the way in which it functions. We must however be aware of two facts. The first should be the aims of martial law in relation to the economy. We did not, after all, set ourselves the task of creating a military economy, which is a typical characteristic of martial law. Instead, the basic aim we set ourselves was to save the country, and this also included saving the economy.

Second, even at the very start of martial law it was possible to consider the process of continuing reforms. As early as February 1982, the Sejm passed a whole package of laws that provided legal guarantees for the new system in which the economy would function. This required an unprecedented and deep-rooted reform, and it is also the reason why the changes in the regulations on the economy will not be as crucial as in other spheres.

[Chadzynski] Certain restrictions, however, were also placed on liberties, as well as on the independence of enterprises in the economy.

[Wroblewski] We can, in fact, say that there were two very important groups of problems connected with the legal regulations of martial law. The first concerns militarizing the parts of enterprises that have a particularly important significance for the economy and introducing the rigors of discipline to this field. The second concerns suspending the activities of workers' self-management bodies during the initial period of martial law. However, even during martial law we began to see the gradual resumption of the activities of workers' self-management bodies and, at the end of 1982 the suspension of their activities was totally repealed. The legal regulations for the suspension of martial law foresaw the possibility that the activities of these bodies would be suspended. In practice, however, there was only one such case. The possibility of suspending them also exists at present, although this decision can be referred to a special Council of State commission.

[Chadzynski] What conclusions could you draw from this?

[Wroblewski] The principles behind the way in which the economy and its legal regulations worked were, to a greater degree, the result of the conditions imposed on it by the crisis, they were predetermined by the reality of an economy that was very weak and was, in addition, constricted by sanctions and not by the rigors of martial law. It is worth remembering at this stage that "Policy Lines for Economic Reform," passed in July 1981, anticipated using temporary solutions as a result of the state our economy was in.

[Chadzynski] The self-government principle was not completely implemented although it is, after all, one of the basic assumption of the reform.

[Wroblewski] Martial law halted the process in which the kinds of workers' self-management bodies existing in enterprises adapted to the requirements of the law. At the same time the decree issued by the Council of Ministers on 30 December 1981 gave ministers the authority to say in which enterprises the activities of workers' self-management bodies would continue during martial law, and the Council of Ministers' next decree on 19 July 1982 gave them the authority to repeal the suspension they had imposed on the activities of the work forces of these bodies in certain enterprises.

[Chadzynski] Let us, nevertheless, recall the struggle for self-management that was concluded by the decision made during the third quarter of 1982 on repealing this suspension. How did this process develop further?

[Wroblewski] The decision to repeal the suspension imposed on the activities of self-management bodies until the end of 1982 was made in view of the 3,620 enterprises, of the 6,580 enterprises in operation, in which these bodies could function. Suspending martial law made it possible for the work forces of self-management bodies to resume their activities in other enterprises which come within the definition of this law. However, the government plenipotentiary's report on implementing the economic reform and its results after the first quarter of 1983 stated that the real process of reviving the activities of self-management bodies is taking longer than it would have seemed from the number of decisions made by the founding bodies making these activities possible.

[Chadzynski] This could not already have been the result of martial law regulations, but must have been due to some other reasons?

[Wroblewski] Every reform is a process that demands the elimination of obstacles. The government plenipotentiary's report characterized this complicated process, and I would not like to go back to a lot of other matters which would require comment. On the other hand, it is worth turning our attention to the activities of the Sejm Commission for Workers' Self-Management Affairs, as well as to the efforts of the government plenipotentiary aimed at fulfilling the need to resume the activities of these bodies. It was at the same time necessary and important to make the compulsory principles of the reform widespread. Consultation centers for workers' self-management bodies were set up by the teams of Sejm deputies and in all the voivodships. The way in which the resumption of activities by these bodies could be accelerated in enterprises was decided in a joint effort together with representatives of the ministries. As you can see, it was necessary to eliminate obstacles and to break down resistance, but this was already a matter which had nothing to do with martial law regulations.

[Chadzynski] One often comes across the theory that, just as great price changes were possible under the cover of martial law, so, too, did martial law influence government intervention on prices at a later date.

[Wroblewski] I do not want to speculate. However, it is worth keeping to the facts, since these show us that price problems are regulated in accordance with the price law adopted by the Sejm. Regulations made in this area, irrespective of how we would assess them and to what degree they would interfere with the rights of enterprises, are the result of legal acts that have nothing to do with martial law regulations but are simply a specific legal response to a situation occurring in this sphere. This is why the decision to freeze food prices, which was adopted on the basis of the law on prices, was valid until 31 July. The law on the principles behind activities aimed at emerging from the crisis created a very versatile mechanism that authorized the Council of Ministers to forbid any price increases for a specific group of products.

[Chadzynski] Let us, nevertheless, return to the previously mentioned issue of militarizing plants, and the rigors which became compulsory for the workers. Do you not fear at present that some kind of shock might take place as a result, let us say, of the great fluctuations caused by the mobility of labor from one plant to another?

[Wroblewski] It is for this reason that the law passed on regulating legislature while we are emerging from the crisis introduced a rule which extends by 6 months the period of notice workers have to give these enterprises before they leave. This feature of the law protects enterprises against the danger of this kind of massive exodus. A regulation ruling that a worker who leaves his job on his own accord will receive minimum wages for the first 12 months of his new employment was introduced at the same time. And finally, the Council of Ministers was authorized to establish compulsory labor exchanges for selected branches and regions should the need for them arise.

[Chadzynski] I would, nevertheless, like to tackle yet another point, namely the planning system. After all, in the beginning the principle of quarterly operational plans was introduced along with the imposition of martial law; the list of operational programs was extended. This provoked criticism since priorities in this sphere ceased to be of any value. How did this evolve?

[Wroblewski] I will only briefly remind you that our planning prospects increased when the situation improved. In the beginning it was really difficult to plan for even the next quarter. We all know how late in the year the annual plan for 1982 was adopted, but we already had a 3-year plan in our hands by the end of this same year, as well as the first draft assumptions of the plan going up to 1990. Indeed, the list of operational programs seemed to be too voluminous in 1982, and this year there are already quite a few less. An additional factor was introduced in the form of government orders, and going on the assumption that in the future this will be the main mechanism which will ensure essential production, an authorization was introduced into the legal regulations. It was to be valid for as long as it would take us to emerge from the crisis and would give founding bodies the right to make it the duty of enterprises to draw up contracts on the basis of which they must implement government orders.

[Chadzynski] You should be able to clearly see from this incomplete review that the process of creating compulsory principles for the economy was the result of a change in the situation and problems which had to be solved and was not due to the influence of the rigors of martial law. Or will certain habits or a certain commanding style which are characteristic of this period not become the order of the day?

[Wroblewski] There has always been a danger of this, irrespective of whether martial law is current or not. However, it appears that the main remedy may be to clarify our principles. Regulations which safeguarded us against favoritism, as well as against subjectivism, in the establishment of preferences were, after all, the basis for the growing dependence on the command system. However, this is a complicated process in which temporary defeats must be expected if we are not successful in eliminating existing disproportions and tensions, for there is a current misconception in circulation which maintains that even the commands which are made in defiance of the logic of the entire economic system prove to be effective in such situations. This is fiction. However, the general policy line will be decisive, as this will show that despite the various obstacles, the reform process will continue to progress, though possibly not as quickly as it was once supposed and not as quickly as we would have liked.

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON PRICES, INCOMES, MARKET

AU0021551 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Jul 83 p 2

[PAP reporter Jan Kotarski interview with Zdislaw Krasinski, minister of price affairs: "How To Stabilize Prices"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Kotarski] After more than 18 months of the central annual plan and 18 months after the great increase in prices, how do you assess the effectiveness of the price policy in relation to market equilibrium, the combating of inflation, and -- what is probably most interesting to people -- the growth in the cost of living and the rise in real wages?

[Krasinski] To put it in the most concise terms, I believe that the effectiveness of a price policy is illustrated by the growth in the amount of money people save compared to what they earn. People were saving 6.7 percent of their incomes in the first half of this year. What this means in practice is that people are in a position to put away only that percentage of their incomes, or fail to find necessary goods on the market whose purchase would cost that percentage of their incomes. I would say that this percentage is the amount people always save when the market is reasonably stable and even when it is in general equilibrium. The percentage is the same as it was in the favorable years 1973-79. It is worth stressing that in 1981-82 savings amounted to 12 percent and even 14 percent of earnings.

[Kotarski] What role have price rises played in balancing the market situation during the past 6 months and to what extent have they influenced the cost of living and real incomes?

[Krasinski] I prefer to discuss not the entire 6 months, but only the period February-June. Only then can we find a suitable starting point for discussion, because the price increases did not occur until February last year. During the period February-June this year, prices rose by an estimated 24.5 percent more than during the same period last year. If, however, one omits the increases in the price of liquor and tobacco, then this amounts to slightly less than 17 percent.

At the same time, however, the increase in incomes, especially wages, has outstripped the increases in prices and the assumptions of the central annual plan. The plan said that real income would rise by 1 percent. But in reality, nominal wages have increased more than 29 percent, which with a 24.5 percent price increase gives an excess of earnings by almost 4 percent.

[Kotarski] We are faced then with a considerable increase both in prices and wages. What can be said about combating inflation?

[Krasinski] This also depends on a certain point in time. Last year, we had an inflation rate of over 100 percent. This year it has fallen to one-fourth of last year's level. It is quite simply impossible to set up a barrier that will immediately curb inflation. However, one must admit that the assumptions of the central annual plan concerning increases in both incomes and wages have been exceeded. From society's point of view, what is more important is that prices have been rising more slowly than nominal wages.

[Kotarski] Basically, though, this only brings satisfaction to working people. What have been the effects of this considerable price increase on the living costs of old-age and disability pensioners?

[Krasinski] Despite the raising of pensions, the real income of this group of society has slightly dropped. Omitting liquor and cigarettes, the increase in pensions have covered the rises in the prices of remaining goods. In any case, that is the situation in July. I admit that raising pensions in stages resulted in the fact that pensioners were in a worse situation than the rest of society in the early months of this year. Therefore it is worth considering speeding up the second and third stages of pension increases and introducing them together in 1984.

[Kotarski] The relatively large increase in prices in the first half of this year was, above all, the result of the increase in so-called contracted prices. During the last Sejm session, the government earned the right to ban price rises of certain goods up to the end of this year and to determine how much the prices of other goods should rise. In what way is it intended to take advantage of these powers?

[Krasinski] What seems most important to me is the interpretation of this legal enactment. We do not intend by any means to use it in order to reduce the profitability of enterprises. The legal power is meant, above all, to limit rises in the production costs of enterprises, which are at present calculated into prices. This mainly concerns wages, whose increase is an important factor in increasing inflation. Price rises will be made as a result of increased costs beyond the power of enterprises, such as the greater prices of raw materials, energy, semi-finished articles, and the increased rates of tax.

In this way, too, the varied situation of individual enterprises will be taken into account and their stability will be guaranteed at a profitable level. Any increase in their profitability will depend on efficient management, thrift, and so on.

We intend to apply the legal enactment as of 1 August this year especially to producers of supply and investment goods. In this sense the new rule will replace the current freeze on the prices of these goods. The proposed solution is quite simply more flexible. It is worth stressing that the introduction of this solution is merely a speeding up of the changes in this sphere that were meant to be introduced 1 January 1984 as part of the proposed modifications to the reform. We regard the powers approved by the Sejm as a measure that controls the internal costs of enterprises and lessens the pressure on wages. This does not mean in the least that wages are being frozen. The point is, however, that wages should increase as a result of greater productivity and increased production, and not as a result of distribution among the work force of excess income earned because of unjustified price rises.

[Kotarski] Looking back on the past 6 months, can one really think that prices will stabilize and that the effects of price rises on market equilibrium will diminish? In other words, is the current price policy sufficiently cohesive and sufficiently firmly established in the economy to avoid in the future such a price shock as the one that occurred in February 1982?

[Krasinksi] It seems to me that we have at our disposal right now more accurate means of reducing inflation. But the fact is that inflation has not dropped to the extent we would have liked. This is evidenced both by the scale of wage increases -- which I have just spoken about -- and by the still inadequate growth in production, reduction of costs, and improvement in productivity. Therefore, prices also play an important role in market stabilization. It was essential to raise prices in order to prevent the situation we had toward the end of 1980. One must stress, nevertheless, that we have almost reached the halfway mark in the battle against inflation. It is slowly falling. This fall is already so meaningful that we will never have to resort in the future to such price rises as took place in 1982.

CITIZENS' MILITIA OFFICIAL ON ECONOMIC CRIMES

AU021415 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jul 83 p 6

[Ryszard Altynski interview with Colonel Henryk Nasilowski, director of the Office for Combating Economic Crimes at the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia: "An Uncompromising Fight Against Economic Crimes"; date and place not given]

[Text] During martial law, the public was widely informed of the problems of combating economic crimes, particularly speculation. Is there no fear that the lifting of martial law will provoke the more frequent occurrence of this kind of crime? Our PAP correspondent turned to Colonel Henryk Nasilowski, director of the Office for Combating Economic Crimes at the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia with a few questions on these subjects.

[Nasilowski] Aside from imposing martial law, implementing the economic reform, improving the state control system and organizational structures, and the extent of the activities of the treasury control bodies, along with the wide range of legislative improvements are further important factors that favor the limitation of economic crimes. We should, at the same time, stress the very important part played, particularly during the first half of 1982 and also 1983, by the many social inspectors who work in, among other places, workers' antispeculation teams. We have also obtained good results in detecting economic crimes due to the militia's direct intervention in the matter. We have likewise made the penal sentences for economic crimes more severe. They will now involve confiscating the property of people who commit them, increasing fines for these offenses, and confiscating the property obtained from the crime. Economic crimes are becoming less and less profitable for their perpetrators.

[Altynski] Could you illustrate this with a few definite examples?

[Nasilowski] The crime rate statistics for the first half of 1983 clearly reflect what I have been saying. Over 10 percent fewer preliminary proceedings against economic crimes were instigated during this time than during the first 6 months of 1982, and the number of penal proceedings for speculation also fell drastically. The drop in the number of speculation crimes which were detected was influenced by the progressing stabilization of supplies to the market, particularly of food products, and the functioning of the amended legal regulations, as well as the consistent activities of the investigating bodies. During this period 5,315 speculation cases were instigated, which is 25 percent less than in the first half of 1982. The number of cases instigated for bad management was almost 50 percent lower, and about 16 percent fewer cases were instigated for foreign exchange and smuggling crimes. However, it appears, and we are prepared for this, that the increased possibilities of foreign travel following the lifting of martial law will cause a greater danger of these kinds of crimes recurring.

[Altynski] Have the mechanisms of economic reform had a noticeable influence on curbing economic crimes, such as appropriating public property?

[Nasilowski] Unfortunately these are still not clearly noticeable, although there has already been a certain 1.5 percent drop in this kind of crime since last year. However, we must remember that it was considerably more difficult to control enterprises by primary units once the control associations had been eliminated. At the moment, therefore, these primary units must consolidate and form themselves into organizational systems of self-governing internal control units within the units of the socialized economy. But despite this, we have made progress, for example, in exposing so-called economic intrigues, which is no doubt due to the better results obtained by the militia in their activities.

[Altynski] Could you give a few examples of large-scale economic crimes or of glaring negligence and cases of bad management that have been detected by militia bodies?

[Nasilowski] At present, the Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia in Piotrkow Trybunalski is carrying out an investigation into the waste of property in an orthopedic footwear plant in Szczercow. The losses due to this amount to Z8 million. The Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia in Gorzow Wielkopolski are concluding primary proceedings against dishonest workers of the agricultural production cooperative in Kielpin in Gorzow Wielkopolski Voivodship, as well as the agricultural production cooperative in Przemysl in Poznan Voivodship, which were accused of appropriating common property at a value of Z754,000 and causing losses amounting to almost Z4 million through bad management, as well as acdepting and giving bribes of over Z700,000. The Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia in Rzeszoq has concluded its investigations into the bad management and harmful wastefulness that occurred in a fruit and vegetable warehouse belonging to the Rzeszow garden and apiary cooperative, which caused losses totalling over Z3 million. The cooperative's chairman and deputy chairman were accused of this crime.

[Altynski] One of the most troublesome and socially harmful crimes is bribery. Is the effectiveness of combating bribery greater after the amendment of Article 243 of the Penal Code than it was before?

[Nasilowski] A 6 month period is too short a time to make an explicit and competent appraisal of this. However, statistics show that we have become more efficient in fighting bribery.

Over 10 percent more preliminary proceedings were instigated this year than during the corresponding period in 1982 in cases concerning the corruption of public functionaries and there were almost 16 percent more bribery cases. I think that a good way of preventing bribery, which would be no less effective, would be to carry out methodical and honest controls on the activities of the workers of the administration of the state and of the economy.

[Altynski] Are the activities of the militia restricted to detecting crimes and investigating their perpetrators?

[Nasilowski] We carry out preventive activities which have been organized according to plan. On a daily basis these are based on recognizing threats and dealing with them quickly before the crime occurs. In 1982, for instance, 3,800 crimes were thwarted as a result of militia activities. These crimes could have caused losses to the tune of over Z210 million. We have brought many irregularities to light during the course of these preventive activities, irregularities that must immediately be eliminated in order to make it impossible to steal or destroy common property. In 1982, for instance, over 1,300 people were fired from their managerial positions on the written recommendation of the militia for incompetence, bad management, and the waste of common property.

[Altynski] What chances do you see for the improvement of the safeguarding of common property?

The government "stabilization program" creates an institutional framework for these activities, maps out specific tasks, and gives them a limited responsibility. We will effectively guarantee a permanent improvement in good management, a better safeguard for common property, and the defense of civil interests by resolutely implementing this program and its decisions.

[Nasilowski] The Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia has also prepared the main lines of action for the militia to take in 1983-85 in order to prevent and combat crimes, including ones of an economic nature. However, I think that in the daily routine of socioeconomic affairs, the best formula to implement is the wise old Polish saying, "He who cares, also has."

PZPR OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON CADRE POLICY

AU041355 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Aug 83 p 3

[Stanislaw Blaszczyk interview with Brigadier General Tadeusz Dziekan, head of the PZPR Central Committee Cadres Department: "Everything Depends on People": date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Blaszczyk] The subject of cadre policy is like a river... Let us begin with the well-known slogan: "Everything depends on the cadres." To what extent do you think this is still valid in our Polish conditions? In various discussions on the subject of emerging from the crisis, some say that only an efficient and intelligent organization of life can save us, and others say that the only way out of the crisis is to have the ordinary citizen participate more in the life of the country. Therefore, there is the role of the leadership cadres on the one hand, and that of us citizens on the other....

[Tadeusz Dziekan] I believe this is a stubborn dilemma. More and more people want to take an active part in social, political, and economic life and help determine what is happening around them, whereas others correctly demand efficient organization, order, and discipline, and the kind of administration that gives the best results.

It is clear that this demands competent, efficient, and highly qualified leadership cadres on all rungs of the social ladder. One must not therefore, separate the two matters, but see them as an indivisible whole belonging to the same problem. For the basic task of every leader, regardless of his standing in the hierarchy, is not only to lead and administer efficiently in a technical and organizational sense, but also -- and this is no less important -- to create a working atmosphere for the people under his authority in which they are convinced of the correctness of what they are doing and that they can take an active part in deciding on matters which constitute their work. Therefore, cadre policy is a very important element of socialist democracy. I would like to draw attention here to the view of Lenin, who said that party cadre policy is the "involvement of the real majority of the working masses in the kind of work where they can show their worth, develop their capabilities, and reveal their talents."

All of this largely depends on man, on the people who make decisions, on those who lead and administer. In this sense the slogan "Everything depends on cadres" still has a deep significance.

[Blaszczyk] People identify many of the causes of the crisis in our country with faults in cadre policy. How can one explain this since the party has always regarded cadre policy as the most important instrument of exercizing authority?

[Dziekan] The PZPR's leadership role in society means that one of our party's most important tasks was and is to conduct cadre policy. The party has always involved itself with the selection of people to leadership posts because its authority and people's confidence in the policy and aims established by it depend on their work and attitudes.

For every party, especially a Marxist-Leninist party, cadre policy is very important. Because of its leadership role in society, the party is obliged to keep its cadre policy geared toward people who are dedicated, talented, and capable of leading people.

Our party is implementing state policy through its members -- people who are experienced, possess high ideological qualifications, are dedicated, and are active in economic, sociopolitical, cooperative, and state organizations.

[Blaszczyk] Yes, but in practice....

[Dziekan] Unfortunately, the practice of the seventies was often different from the above correct principles of cadre policy. But the mistakes that were made then did not always lie in the principles that were adopted. Mistakes occurred, above all, when the principles were neglected when making personnel decisions, when the social base for selecting leadership cadres was limited to a rather narrow group of people, and finally, when peoplewere chosen who were not always suitable for a given post. Therefore, it is no wonder that people identify the causes of the crisis in the errors of cadre policy as well.

[Blaszczyk] During discussions before and during the ninth extraordinary congress, it is cadre policy that was subjected to especially severe criticism....

[Dziekan] The criticism was indeed severe because the social effects of this policy, in other words, private deals between people, connections, incompetence, misuse of one's powers, and so on, began to appear on the same wave as the action of settling accounts with the past and with everything that was bad.

What was most criticized was the way cadre policy is implemented: the formalistic-bureaucratic approach toward the so-called "nomenklatura" which was in any case excessive; voluntarism in cadre decisions; the violation of cadre powers by certain party bodies; the imposition of a series of posts on candidates, who were often victims of the so-called cadre carousel; and many other phenomena.

Nevertheless, this justified stream of party criticism was also drowned out by the noisy demagogic propaganda of forces hostile to the party, which took advantage of cadre policy mistakes and social dissatisfaction in order to undermine confidence in all cadres, including those who performed their tasks well, were competent, and proved equal to the demands required of them.

The aim was to deprive the party of its essential attribute -- influence on cadre policy -- and also to weaken the party, and then remove it from political life.

[Blaszczyk] Much has changed in cadre policy since then. What do the changes involve?

[Dziekan] To put it in the most general terms, the changes involve drawing the right conclusions from past mistakes made in cadre policy, giving cadre policy its appropriate status, and constantly trying to make this policy a real policy and not just an outward feature of socialist democracy. Cadre policy should be as broad a form of activity as possible by the right people concerning administration and leadership. The resolution of the ninth congress covering this sphere is being fully and widely implemented, especially regarding increasing the participation of representatives of the allied political parties, young people, and nonparty people in running the country. It is enough to look at the composition of the highest bodies of state authority to convince oneself of how much the situation has changed.

The changes made in the party apparatus also illustrate the new situation. In the Central Committee alone over 350 changes in personnel have been made since the ninth congress, and among political employees in the field, about 6,000 have been replaced since september 1980.

As a result of a special review of cadres, carried out in ministries, central offices, science, education, and the press in February 1982, 440 people occupying central-level leadership posts were replaced and over 650 directors of larger work places were dismissed. In addition, over 200 chairmen and executives of primary-level offices were replaced.

[Blaszczyk] Not even the best principles and decisions can guarantee that no new mistakes will be made. This also applies to, and maybe it applies, above all, to, such a delicate yet important matter as cadre policy....

[Dziekan] Of course not. For it is not only principles that count, but, above all, their implementation and the mechanisms that ensure that mistakes will not be made. We already have quite a few such mechanisms and they are effective on the whole, such as the system whereby all party cells can check the implementation of cadre policy. Second, the implementation of these principles depends on people, on whether the entire party has enough strength and determination to implement them consistently and always. Cadre policy must be near to the hearts of the entire party, it must be near to the heart of every member and must be implemented and observed by all. How much has changed in this respect is confirmed by the words of Comrade W. Jaruzelski, Central Committee first secretary: "The party is the same party but not as it used to be."

PARTY OFFICIAL ON GDANSK POLITICAL SITUATION

AU021631 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 24 Jul 83 pp 1, 4

[Julitta Glembocka interview with Mieczyslaw Chabowski, organizational secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee: "If People Do Not Fail"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Glembocka] The history and the political map of postwar Poland includes dates and places whose importance we could do without: Poznan 1956, Gdansk 1970, Ursus-Radom 1976, and again Gdansk 1980. These places are painful and bitter symbols for the power apparatus.... What is the situation in Gdansk now -- on the eve of the third anniversary of the August 1980 events?

[Chabowski] The situation is calm. The shipyards and ports are at work. The spirit of vacations reigns in the streets. There are many tourists in town. The shops are receiving more and more goods. The situation in Gdansk is slowly normalizing, as it is countrywide. I think that we can now afford moderate optimism.

[Glembocka] After August 1980 one could read various things about the workers class, from embellished poems praising it as magnificent, heroic, and victorious, through a critical analysis of its internal contradictions and the thesis that its class consciousness was disappearing. In view of that, what is the workers class in Gdansk now like?

[Chabowski] Let me go back in time. Before the war the workers class in the maritime areas was concentrated mainly in Gdynia where the first workers and trade union groups were organized. The Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Communist Party were especially strong. As for Gdansk, it was rebuilt after the war almost from scratch. The workers class in Gdansk and in the maritime region was created by the people, primarily peasants, coming here from all the nooks of Poland, who -- this was natural -- brought with them regional differences and specific traditions, as well as customs and views linked very strongly to Catholicism. This is why this workers class is not a homogeneous class that has undergone the same training to fulfill its historical mission and to understand its own role and importance insofar as the interests of the workers class and other interests are concerned.

[Glembocka] And that nonhomogeneous -- as you have said -- workers class put up a homogeneous front in August 1980 and shook the country to its foundations. Any explanation?

[Chabowski] An explanation is relatively simple. Opposition to evil united the people more strongly than the best positive program. I will risk stating that the greater the evil, the stronger the consolidation around a protest is.

[Glembocka] In view of a very large participation of young people in strikes and in Solidarity, let me ask you an indiscreet question: Is the young character of the workers class in Gdansk a disadvantage or advantage for the voivodship party organization?

[Chabowski] Frankly speaking, it is both. Regardless of the fact that young people are so committed to the struggle for social justice and for the principles of socialism that are workers principles, they have little experience of life and are less socio-politically mature than their elders. Youthful criticism combined with the frequent inability to see and to consider political realities and difficult domestic and external conditions may become a dangerous weapon in the hands of unauthorized people.

This is a matter of how to manage this enormous potential of good will, enthusiasm, and the drive for action so as to prevent them from turning into a destructive force. In view of the fact that in the post-August political period, the party has been and is hard put to find its way to the people's hearts and minds, this is a huge and difficult problem. The period when trust was given on credit is our country is now over.

[Glembocka] Beginning with August 1980, the PZPR has reduced its ranks by about one-third. Statistics show that it is the workers -- primarily young workers -- who continue to leave the party in the largest numbers. Many party meetings continue to hint that the party is getting old.

[Chabowski] I would not be so dramatic on this subject. It is true that between July 1980 and to the end of 1982 our voivodship party organization lost about 25,000 members, of whom over 70 percent were workers. However, both in the case of those who left the party and those who were dismissed from it, the persons in the age group of 30-39 who had joined the party in 1972-79 were the most numerous.

[Glembocka] Let us go back to December 1970 and August 1980. Bearing in mind that the workers class is about the same countrywide in its basic qualities, why was it that Gdansk was so militant in resenting the policies followed in those years by the power apparatus? Was it a coincidence?

[Chabowski] I would not say it was. Nevertheless, the issue is complicated. Visible disproportions between a very rapid technological and industrial development, on the one hand, and the development of social infrastructure, on the other, visibly asserted themselves in our voivodship. The neglect in the social and communal -- especially in the housing and service -- infrastructure are greater in our voivodship than in the country's other regions. Our indicators are lower by 2-36 percent than the national average.

Second, as I have said, the Gdansk population is greatly differentiated and hails from the country's different regions. Some work forces have no long-standing roots in their plants, and our inability to meet the needs of the young people coming to Gdansk increases their feelings of uncertainty and does not encourage stabilization in life and work. Let me add that between 27 and 35 percent of the work force lives in hostels and private quarters. This means that 2,500 to 3,000 workers of a given shipyard and port and 6,000 to 15,000 workers of a factory live in this way, which is not without significance, especially if there is an occasion to present specific attitudes in a situation that I would define as difficult.

The third reason for the militancy in question is the fact that people here have extensive contacts with the capitalist world and with enormous numbers of Western tourists. While mindful of the so-called opening to the world, we should be aware of all the complicated features connected with this opening.

[Glembocka] As events did show us, it was the opposition that had an excellent knowledge -- perhaps a better knowledge than many a party member had -- of the political situation and specific problems of the maritime region. While we agree that the August protest was absolutely justified, we know that it had counterrevolutionary features from the very beginning. One is astonished to realize that the need to find out what was right and what was counterrevolutionary was comprehended with such difficulty by the decision-making centers.

[Chabowski] The "massive" character -- if one may say so -- of Solidarity came about after it had been formally registered. This is true, but the development of antisocialist groups greatly anticipated August 1980. The fact that the party as a vanguard of the workers class in a way dissociated itself from its base was the greatest tragedy and a paradox. It was no accident that the so-called KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] advisors found their way into various plants, especially the Gdansk and Gdynia shipyards, from almost the very first day. At first from their hidings and then quite openly, these advisors tried to influence decisions and the elections of workers representatives and to enforce various political concepts, soon afterwards taking over the actual leadership of Solidarity's echelons.

Let me recall that in one year alone we had about 600 strikes in 26 versions countrywide. In the world confrontation of forces Poland became "a whipping boy" and, on the other hand -- especially in the initial period -- the "soft underbelly" of the entire socialist community.

[Glembocka] Unfortunately, some Poles do keep forgetting about our international obligations. Not all of them realize that every communist party has a double responsibility -- to its own class and the people and to the world revolutionary movement. In particular, Marxists should not justify the deviation from the universal laws of socialist construction and explain the errors committed during the construction with the help of the specific nervousness of the Polish situation.

[Chabowski] Nor should we go to the other extreme. Still, we must not substitute the principle of supraclass national interests for the class principle of internationalism. I think that the present main danger is not the failure to appreciate national features but the verbal and slogan-like treatment of internationalism and reducing it to military dimensions. This can lead to serious errors and even defeats. We alone will not solve the great contemporary problems.

[Glembocka] What new elements and perhaps phenomena can now be seen in the activities of the Gdansk Voivodship party organization?

[Chabowski] Generally speaking, we can say that whereas 1982 saw the strengthening of party cells of all levels, 1983 is a year in which we want to increase the militancy of all our primary party organizations, of which we have about 3,000. We devote much attention to direct work with the first secretaries of the primary and shop organizations and with party groups. We have sent groups of party activists to the weekend organizations, especially in the places in which strikes took place after the introduction of martial law. As a result of setting up the regional centers of party work, party organizations outside the tricity conurbation, especially in rural areas, have become militant. The plenum of the voivodship committee of 20 December 1982 agreed that the political-organizational and ideological condition of the party in our voivodship has improved.

Summing up, the Gdansk party organization is aware of its errors and discomfitures, but it is entitled to entertain some optimism. However, the visible positive changes do not entitle us to assert that all defects and weaknesses have been eliminated in our voivodship and in the functioning and activities of the party.

[Glembocka] Looking at the tall crosses erected in front of the Gdansk shipyards, we repeat, as an incantation almost: Never again! Is "never again" possible?

[Chabowski] It is if our people control the power apparatus, if people do not fail, if the communists in the party do not fall.

CEAUSESCU MEETS JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER ABE

AU041936 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/8/1983 -- President Nicolae Ceausescu received on August 4 in Neptun resort Shintaro Abe, minister of foreign affairs of Japan, who pays an official visit to Romania.

During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the upward course of the Romanian-Japanese relations of friendship and collaboration, especially after the visit the Romanian head of state paid to Japan and the visit of the crown prince to Romania, which contributed to a better acquaintance and stimulated the relations between the two countries.

In the context the sides highlighted the significance of the present visit, when for the first time a Japanese foreign minister has come to Romania; the sides expressed the wish that the visit resulted in an impetus given to the Romanian-Japanese relations and to the expansion of the collaboration between the two countries in the world arena.

During the talks the sides considered that there were wide possibilities for expanding the relations between the two countries in multiple planes, and that the balance of trade, the balance of payments had to be even, this making a stable base for mutually advantageous economic relations.

Views were also exchanged on current issues of international life. In this frame, it was pointed out that a host of serious problems existed in the world, which seriously endanger the peoples' peace and independence. It was remarked that in the current complex conditions it was necessary that every effort be deployed for preventing the world political climate from worsening, for the settlement of the inter-state issues (?and) of the conflict situations in various zones of the world only by peaceful means, by negotiations, while banning the force and threat with force from international relations.

It was considered that the central issue at present was the struggle for halting the arms race, for a passage to disarmament, nuclear above all, for establishing a military equilibrium at a lowest possible level, by halting the emplacement of new medium-range missiles in Europe, for the withdrawal and destruction of the ones in place, for the organization of denuclearized zones in Europe and in other parts of the world, for cutting down the military expenditures. In this context, emphasis was placed on how important it would be for the world political climate to build security and cooperation in Europe.

It was pointed out that there was a close connection between the economic and political issues, between disarmament and the eradication of underdevelopment, between the problems of underdevelopment and the securing of political and economic stability, of a lasting peace in the world. The need was stressed for negotiated settlement between the rich countries and the poor countries of the high interest-rate issues, of the developing countries' debts, of the prices with raw materials, the access to technologies, on whose settlement depend the eradication of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new international economic order, of a climate of confidence among all peoples of the world. The interview which passed in a cordial atmosphere occasioned an exchange of salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Yasuhiro Nakasone.

DELEGATE ADDRESSES GENEVA ANTIRACISM CONFERENCE

AU042044 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Geneva AGERPRES 4/8/1983 -- In the August 4 session of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination taking place in Geneva, the Romanian delegation presented the standpoint and political conception of Socialist Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the firm combating of the racist policies and practices, of permanent solidarity with and support to the national liberation movements, for the accomplishment of all peoples' aspirations after free and dignified life.

A powerful reaffirmation of these principles, the Romanian chief delegate, Ambassador Ion Datcu, said, was the recent visit of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in some front-line African states. This visit was an expression of Romania's full solidarity with the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against the racist policy and apartheid, for the right to freedom of the Namibian people led by their legitimate representative, the SWAPO, as well as for the observance of the sovereignty and independence of all front-line African states. The Romanian chief delegate stressed in his address the role incumbent upon the organization of African Unity, upon all African countries in the settlement of the problems on the continent, for the necessary conditions to be provided so that those states may focus their material and human potential on carrying through their economic and social development programmes.

The Romanian delegation advocated the endorsement at a national level of legislative, legal and administrative measures apt to ensure the banning of racial discrimination, of the dissemination of ideas based on race superiority or hatred and on chauvinism. Romania declares for the final document of the conference to include recommendations inviting the states to become parties to the international convention of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, endorsed by the UN in 1965.

Of outstanding importance in this domain, the speaker stressed, is the application by all states in good faith of the numerous resolutions and other documents endorsed by the UN with a view to eliminating the racial discrimination and apartheid. In concluding his address, the Romanian chief delegate showed that the current conference had to mobilize the efforts of governments, of world public opinion and of the United Nations towards actual measures of eradication of racism, of substantially backing the national liberation movements.

BRIEFS

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH ARGENTINA -- Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/7/1983 -- The proceedings of the sixth session of the joint Romanian-Argentine Commission of Economic Cooperation concluded in Bucharest on July 29. The heads of the two delegations, Nicolae Andrei, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Miguel Angel Almada, undersecretary for foreign trade relations, signed the protocol of the session. The document stipulates measures of increasing the volume of commercial exchanges and new directions of activity for expanding the Romanian-Argentine economic collaboration. The same day, Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received the Argentine delegation. [Excerpt] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 29 Jul 83 AU]

SPILJAK DISCUSSES MACEDONIA, STABILIZATION

LD021737 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0024 GMT 2 Aug 83

[Text] Krusevo, 2 Aug (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, spoke in Krusevo today at the celebration of the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising and the Krusevo Republic. He said:

It makes me feel happy to be able to congratulate you all who have gathered here in Krusevo, the Macedonian people and the members of the nationalities of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Ilinden uprising.

All peoples have great dates and great holidays in their histories. However, the best and dearest are those which mark the days when they started their struggle for freedom and won it. To the Macedonian people, these are the Ilinden uprising and Krusevo Republic. This is why we are proud of that shining moment in your, and our, past, that inextinguishable symbol of the great epic story of the Macedonian people's liberation struggle. We celebrate the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising and the Krusevo Republic in the free Socialist Republic of Macedonia. We celebrate it in a country of fraternal peoples, in the community of equal nations and nationalities, in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Together with the other Yugoslav nations and nationalities, headed by the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Macedonian people won their freedom and independence during the liberation war and the socialist revolution. That was the realization of the ideals of the Ilinden uprising and its followers, ideals of new generations of Macedonians.

The progressive world, the same as our own peoples, viewed with respect the age-long struggle and liberation aspirations of the Macedonian people. The world admired their fighters, who displayed courage, endurance and dedication.

With it national policy, the Yugoslav Communist Party opened up, under new historical conditions, the prospect of the struggle for national and social liberation of the Macedonian people. The national identity and the right to the freedom and independence of the Macedonian people were emphasized and resolutely defended in the most important documents of the vanguard of the working class of Yugoslavia: in the decision on the founding of the national communist parties in 1934; at the fifth national conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1940; in the proclamation and the call Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia; and all the way until the victory of the revolution.

It is a historical fact that the Ilinden uprising was the work of the Macedonian people themselves. It represented their own struggle for survival and liberation. Because of this, everything that was linked with Ilinden and the Krusevo Republic was the work of the Macedonian people.

Each morning in Krusevo welcomed the free Macedonian republic and not an alien tsar. Each sunset over liberated Krusevo filled the Ilinden fighters with concern about the future of their own homeland, Macedonia, and not of some other state. The land for which insurgents sacrificed their lives was theirs, Macedonian land, and not some other land. The language in which the people's fighters hailed freedom was theirs, Macedonian, and not any other language.

To the Macedonians, the uprising, though put down in a sea of blood, meant the victory of the conviction that freedom and free national and cultural development could only be won with one's own forces and through the resolute struggle of all the people, even at the price of temporary defeats. To the bourgeoisie of the Balkan countries and to the great powers, Ilinden heralded the end of hegemony, enslavement and pacts at the expense of the Macedonian people. In the royal Yugoslavia set up by the Treaty of Versailles, the Macedonian people were again exposed to cruel exploitation, denationalization, and assimilation, but they never lost the belief in their victory.

This is why the new, victorious uprising of the Macedonian people in 1941 against the Bulgarian, German, and Italian occupiers is firmly linked with Ilinden and with the year 1903. Both one and the other demonstrated the strength of the Macedonian people and their ability to win their own freedom.

As a result of the liberation and revolutionary struggle, the ancient Macedonian soil at long last ceased to be the powder keg of the Balkans. By its very existence the Socialist Republic of Macedonia today represents an element of peace and stability in the Balkans. This is a reality that no one will ever again be able to change.

The times when the reactionary regimes of Macedonia's neighbors dreamt about great empires, kingdoms, and the conquest of Macedonian land are gone forever. For centuries, foreigners wrote and rewrote the Macedonian people's history. Today, the Macedonian people themselves write their own history.

This should be understood by all those who, by usurping the history of the Macedonian people, want to deny the Macedonians their national identity. This policy and this kind of attitude toward the Macedonians and Macedonia, whoever inspires it and whatever slogans and "scientific work" are tailored to disguise it, represents nothing more than an attempt to exert crude pressure not only on this one of our republics, but also on the whole of the socialist self-managing, nonaligned, and independent Yugoslavia and its integrity. This policy does not contribute to the strengthening of cooperation and stability in the Balkans. On the contrary, it can only jeopardize peace in this part of Europe, and farther afield in the world. It is better to understand this today than tomorrow, better for all of us, and, above all, better for the Balkan peoples.

The Ilinden uprising is a rich treasury of revolutionary experience for the Macedonian people. Goce Delcev, the legendary leader of the Ilinden uprising, stressed that the liberation of a people was primarily and above all their own affairs, the work of their own hands. He developed the thesis of every people's own struggle as an element essential to the victory of the revolution and he also linked the liberation struggle of the Macedonian people with the struggle waged by other oppressed nations and nationalities in the Ottoman Empire.

These experiences made it easier for the Macedonian antifascists to realize their own aspirations and those of the earlier generation during the great war of national liberation. In 1941 the Macedonian people were not left alone in their second Ilinden. The liberation forces of all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities stood by them.

These unbreakable ties and unity of purpose manifested themselves again later, throughout the period of the socialist building of Macedonia, in the healing of wounds inflicted by the catastrophic earthquake in Skopje and in aid to Macedonia for its accelerated development.

The same link between the Krusevo Republic and the liberation struggle of the Macedonian people in the last war is expressed in the Ilinden insurgents' aspiration for social justice. The Ilinden fighters raised another flag as well -- the call from the Macedonian people to all the other nationalities to live together. The Krusevo manifesto expressed the national liberation and democratic vision and breadth of view of the Ilinden revolutionaries and socialists.

This call for the common struggle of all the oppressed in the feudal Turkish empire and for the equality of all the nationalities in free Macedonia was further confirmed in the national composition of all the organs of the Krusevo Republic. This is why the uprising was such a mass one, an all-people's uprising.

The highest achievement of the Krusevo Republic was the setting up of the revolutionary authorities as the political organ of the uprising -- the first government by free Macedonians and other nationalities of Macedonia. Four decades later, the revolutionary rule of the Macedonian people finally became reality and was founded in the decisions of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia and by setting up the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia in Ilinden on 2 August 1944. This session, held in the Prohor Pcinjski Monastery, on this very same date, confirmed the continuity of the Macedonian people's struggle for national liberation.

At the same time, this was history's tribute to the fighters of the great Ilinden uprising. In this small part of the world it was again proved that a people who struggle for their freedom are indestructible. It was proved that a people who have a history also have a present and a future.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia, Tito said the following in Skopje on 2 August 1969: "The Ilinden uprising and the proclamation of the Krusevo Republic clearly expressed the Macedonian people's resolve to win their national independence, regardless of enormous obstacles and to cooperate as a free people on an equal footing with all the other Balkan peoples."

The Krusevo Republic stood high in its time as an example of a truly democratic state order. This Ilinden experience, too, was valuable to the Macedonian partisans in the war of national liberation. The people destroyed the fascist occupation armies because they were fighting to organize their own life freely on their own.

The building of the first Macedonia started in freedom, but under difficult conditions. There was enormous and widespread backwardness. In many respects, a start had to be made virtually from nothing. More than three-quarters of the population lived in the countryside, where they tilled the land with primitive tools in difficult conditions. Poverty, illiteracy, disease, and high mortality were everywhere. However, freedom and its heart were stronger than anything. The people were moved by unprecedented enthusiasm and their will to overcome all that.

The creative energies of the industrious Macedonian people, released in the political system of socialist self-management, created great material and spiritual wealth within a relatively short period of time. So much was created within three decades that at times it is difficult to remember where we started. The social product of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia has increased more than four times, as compared with what it was when the building started. Though the Socialist Republic of Macedonia embarked on its post-war development with hardly any industry at all, industry accounts nearly for half of its material wealth today.

Today, Macedonia has a modern working class of 450,000 workers, which represents 20 percent of the total population. In 1945, Macedonia's per capita national income was 90 dollars, while today it is more than 1,700 dollars. A vigorous and universal social transformation has also been achieved in the countryside.

Having created their state, the Macedonians have become able for the first time to develop their culture in freedom. They have created a literature so rich that the works of Macedonian authors are today translated into more than 40 languages. In this way, the culture of the Macedonian people has become a part of the cultural treasury of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities and peoples of the world. This is why other peoples of the world are displaying a growing interest in the Macedonian language and culture. This is why the Macedonian language is taught and learned in major European centers.

Science has also developed along with culture as a realiable basis for the economic and social development of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. A Macedonian intelligentsia, firmly linked with the working class and the revolution, has grown and developed. More than 65,000 highly-educated people -- engineers, professors, and scientists of all kinds -- today represent a great force in the Macedonian Republic and throughout our country.

However, there are values that cannot be quantified when we speak about successes and point out difficulties. They are freedom and independence, and also the people themselves, masters of their own land, who make decisions of their own on their own policy, their own way of life in democracy and the struggle for socialism, in keeping with their own aspirations and ideals.

I want to stress with pleasure that Macedonians, who were forced after the fall of the Krusevo Republic and later on by various pressures to emigrate to other countries even overseas, have remained faithful to the ideals of the Ilinden uprising and the Macedonian people. They still today express patriotic sentiments and love for their old country, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

I should also like to add a word or two about relations with our neighbors.

We have always attached great importance to the development of friendly cooperation with neighboring countries. It gives me pleasure to be able to say that we have very good relations with nearly all of our neighbors. Much has been done to promote and expand cooperation, strengthen trust and mutual understanding, and deepen friendly and good-neighborly relations.

I want to stress on this occasion again that good-neighborliness is our permanent policy. This stems from our nonaligned policy and our self-managing socialist social order. The peace and security of our country and our neighbors and also the region in which we live are of vital interest to our nations and nationalities. In the same way as we are active in the international community, we advocate in Europe, and the Balkans as well, respect for sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. We advocate the inviolability of borders, noninterference in internal affairs, and a stop to threats of the use of force and pressures. We defend every people's right to free and unhindered development.

These are also the principles that we accepted in the Helsinki Final Act, which means they are binding on all the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Yugoslavia constantly makes efforts to enrich good-neighborliness.

We are in favor of open borders, free communications among people, and political, economic, cultural and every other form of cooperation based on equality and mutual respect. The nationalities or national minorities, which are numerous in this Balkan area, play a very significant role in this respect. The respect for their rights is a constant element of our policy. We see national minorities as bridges facilitating closer relations and cooperation between peoples and countries. Since we respect the rights of the nations and nationalities that live on our soil, we expect the same from our neighbors with regard to our national minorities in other countries.

Only comprehensive development and promotion of cooperation can create more favorable conditions for completely overcoming the negative attitude that exists with regard to national minorities.

We are developing relations and cooperation with Bulgaria and Greece in numerous fields. However, the failure of our individual neighbors to recognize the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian minority in their countries hinders cooperation that could otherwise be even more fruitful and comprehensive. We are always ready for an open dialogue with our neighbors in the wish to develop mutual relations still further and achieve greater mutual understanding.

Our relations with Albania and the position we have adopted are well known. We shall allow no interference in our internal affairs stemming from greater-Albanian chauvinism and territorial claims. This interference is easy to recognize in the anti-Yugoslav campaign of the Albanian leadership, which is giving direct encouragement to the Albanian irredentists. Such a policy is dangerous both to peace and to this region's security. At the same time, we remain ready for cooperation with Albania as well, on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter, which would be in the interests of both sides. We presented our concrete proposals to the Albanian side earlier to this effect and are awaiting a reply.

The Socialist Republic of Macedonia has made a significant contribution to the realization of the policy of good-neighborliness and our foreign policy of nonalignment and cooperation on an equal footing. It would be in the interests of even more successful Balkan cooperation if it were understood at long last that the Macedonian people are an important factor of stability in this region. It would be clear to everybody once for all that we have never been reconciled and never will be reconciled to the denial of the existence of the Macedonian nation and its historical identity and statehood within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the SFRY. We resolutely reject any such tendencies as interference in our internal affairs.

We wish our borders with our neighbors to be borders of peace and cooperation. Because of this, we support initiatives and efforts aimed at deepening joint interests in this region through various forms of comprehensive mutual cooperation. We are in favor of the realization of any proposals and ideas that might benefit all the Balkan peoples. Significant results have already been achieved in the fields of economy, transport, and energy, but there is still enough room left for other projects, as well. On our part, we shall propose that a meeting be held in our country of Balkan government experts in the field of industrial cooperation.

We also support the proposal to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. This presupposes that in the Balkans, and elsewhere, there must be no use of force at all, especially not among the Balkan countries themselves.

However, such a goal can only be attained through joint efforts and comprehensive cooperation, in the course of which the existing disputes will also be resolved. However complex some problems are, they are not insoluble.

It goes without saying that we do not view the Balkans as an area isolated from the rest of the world. It is a part of the European, Mediterranean, and broader international communities, in which the state of tension and confrontation and rivalry between the blocs still prevails.

The meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been brought to a positive conclusion in Madrid. I should like to stress that an important and constructive role was played in that by nonaligned and neutral countries, to which tribute has been paid by all. We hope that this will also have a positive effect on the broader international crises and resolve problems through negotiations and agreement-seeking. Efforts should be made to maintain the continuity of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe itself and in the Mediterranean, to halt the arms race, and to stop deploying new missiles.

A short while ago, the SFRY Assembly and the highest organs of the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, and the League of Communists at the federal, republican, and provincial levels unanimously accepted the final document on the long-term program of economic stabilization. This fact alone speaks eloquently about the resolve and ability of the whole of society to be successful in carrying out this task as well and continuing the further building of self-managing socialism and an independent and nonaligned policy.

We possess all the material, expert, and cadre potential we need to carry out this task as well. Our people have overcome numerous difficulties and obstacles on the road of freedom and development and are certain to overcome the present difficulties as well. It is good to remember at least a small part of what this society and our people have so far achieved.

Yugoslavia is no longer a backward country, either industrially or economically. Progress for which others needed centuries was achieved in less than four decades. Industrial production rose 13 times as compared with the first postwar years; the production of electrical energy has risen 27 times, coal 4 times, crude steel 10 times, and so forth.

Our greatest strength lies in our fully grown, vocationally skilled, and more numerous working class, in the hundreds of thousands of highly-skilled cadres. This is a force capable of successfully carrying the main burden of stabilization.

We have a highly mechanized and modern agriculture and a highly-developed science and skilled cadres. Thanks to this, the number of agricultural workers has been reduced by two-thirds, but our total agricultural production has risen by nearly three times.

Great reserves still exist in agriculture and society must do its best to see that maximum use is made of these reserves, both in order to increase production and in order to create more jobs in agriculture. Agriculture can and must make a significant contribution to economic stabilization.

Exceptionally good results have also been achieved in the field of transport. We inherited only 700 km of paved roads and today we have 59 million km of them. Similar results have been achieved in rail, sea, air, and road transport. One generation had to build all that other countries possessed a hundred and more years ago in order to narrow the gap between us and the developed world.

More than two-thirds of the apartments that we have today have been built since the war and the same applies to hospitals, schools, and universities. On the whole, life is better everywhere, and our people know this best. This is also shown by the fact that the average life expectancy has been extended by as much as 20 years.

The problems that we face today are neither the first nor the most difficult problems we have had to face and the present generations, as compared with the postwar ones, are not less able and less ready to resolve them. All we have to do is resolutely pursue the policy agreed upon in the long-term program of economic stabilization, regardless of whether or not we are all satisfied with this program in every way.

All the necessary conditions exist for carrying out the tasks set. The most important thing is that we should all understand the seriousness of the situation and the gravity of the problems that have to be overcome. All of us, from the basic organization to the highest federal organs, must do more and better work, better organize ourselves, make fuller use of the existing economic capacities and be more resolute in supporting the processes of integration and self-managing association in the economy.

Economies and rational consumption must become our way of life. We can and must spend only as much as we have earned, and today even less than that, because debts have to be paid back.

We must critically and self-critically analyze the existing economic difficulties so as not to make similar mistakes again and to be able in the future to react more rapidly and in the right way to changes in the world economy.

This is so because the energy crisis, the considerable increase in the cost of raw materials, technology, and capital, monetary instability, and the spread of protectionism have called for the appropriate adaptation of our economy and our development, but we did not do so in time. We yielded to pressure from unrealistic investment ambitions, high consumption, and a high rate of growth.

In one respect, the program of stabilization is very clear: There can no longer be any investments or any free spending. This is one of those essential prerequisites for overcoming economic difficulties that we must resolutely respect.

Proceeding from this realization, we have reached agreement with the consortium of international banks and the IMF on the conditions for repayment of foreign currency debts and for some new credits. This is the prerequisite for being able to organize production, increase exports, and meet our international obligations on time.

Domestic consumption must also be resolutely brought down to within the limits of real income. We still consume more than we produce, which pushes up inflation and the cost of living and reduces the value of the dinar. The difficulties that will emerge must not make us waver, but must mobilize us to action for overcoming them.

To be able to carry out all this we must change a great deal in the structure of the economy. Above all, we should support those organization and production bodies that are capable of exporting successfully. Also, only the kind of production fit for the world market is desirable for the domestic market. Together with this, production depending on the rational use of existing capacities, particularly production that helps employ the young, should be encouraged.

With further economic development, along with the application of stimulating measures by the entire social community, the speedier progress of insufficiently-developed republics and the Province of Kosovo should be made possible.

In order to extricate ourselves from economic difficulties, work must be valued more highly, and creativeness, the endeavor of organizers of production, innovators, rationalizers, and scientific workers, must be encouraged. Without greater stimulation of work and creativeness, of which there is now too little, there can be neither true productivity nor high income.

This is all the more important because in times of economic shortage there is the objective desire for spurious equality, which in practice means: whether one works or not, all receive the same. One should resolutely oppose such spurious equality, above all by extending support to work and to creativeness.

A certain number of people have been easily acquiring very high earnings outside regular jobs. These earnings have not been under sufficient societal control and have been insufficiently subject to social contributions. This has created impermissible social differences in society, which should be resolutely eliminated, but not through a campaign.

The expensive and too extensive administration in organizations of associated labor, in self-managing interest communities, in sociopolitical organizations and communities, from the municipality to the federation, should be subject to revision.

It is also necessary to reexamine the networks of educational, health, cultural, and other institutions of social activities and to coordinate possibilities. It is obvious that the economy cannot bear such high costs of social management. The economy itself will have to make many more direct decisions, through its delegates, on whether all the faculties, medical centers, and similar institutions are really necessary to us and whether they are prepared to maintain them in the future with their own work.

The burden of stabilization must be distributed more evenly throughout society and not merely borne by the economy and its production sector. Stablization must be both the obligation and responsibility of all of society and not merely the working class. He who has more or who bears greater responsibility must commit himself more and make a greater contribution to stabilization.

In the struggle for economic stabilization, the full implementation of self-management represents the essential condition for normalizing circumstances in our economy. Self-management has never been, nor can it be today, some kind of far-away goal to which we aspire, but, above all, a means for us to continuously promote economic and social development.

With the economic stabilization program, we have entered the decisive battle for normalization of the economy. We shall win this battle by acting in a unified manner throughout the system of socioeconomic relations. In adopting the stabilization program, we have agreed on the essential issues of our development. We must show this same unity and responsibility in implementing the program.

The stabilization program also represents the great struggle for development of socioeconomic relations, in much the same way as, in the historical sense, the workers and revolutionaries, the fighters and patriots struggled during our national liberation war. This path, the path of the revolution, has been and has remained the aspiration of our nations and nationalities toward even greater freedom and more humane relations.

It is on this deep faith in our people and in their readiness to guard their freedom and independence that we base our optimism and conviction that we shall overcome the present difficulties. In overcoming all obstacles we shall become economically stronger and more united. We shall demonstrate once again the vitality of our revolution, just as we have been demonstrating and proving it whenever the revolution has faced great historical challenges.

Long live the Socialist Republic of Macedonia!

Long live the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia!

BULGARIA SEEN 'USURPING' MACEDONIAN HISTORY

LD042108 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Sofia 4 Aug (TANJUG) -- Bulgaria continues to lay claim to Macedonian history, clearly manifpulating the achievements of the Macedonian nation and usurping its jubilees. This time, the occasion has been the celebration of the Ilinden uprising in Macedonia, which is being claimed in Bulgaria as "a glorious epoc of the Bulgarian people in Macedonia."

The anniversary of the Ilinden uprising was marked in Sofia by a festive soiree, at which Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, chief of the Bulgarian General Staff, delivered a speech. A people's meeting was held at Predel in Pirin Macedonia, attended by high party and state leaders, at which Bulgarian Academician Vladimir Topencharov declared that the Ilinden uprising represented "a continuation of the Bulgarian people's democratic revolution."

In the spirit of the official policy of the Bulgarian party and state, which completely negates the Macedonian nation and lays claim to the historic heritage of the Macedonian people, this year all Bulgarian information media again consistently and quite openly declared the Ilinden uprising, this great event in the history of the Macedonian people, as their own holiday and as "the most important event in Bulgarian history since the uprising in April 1876." The "April epic" refers to the unsuccessful uprising by the Bulgarians against Turkish rule in the central part of today's Bulgaria in April 1876.

In contrast to previous years, the jubilee of the Ilinden uprising was not only marked by the daily press (TRUD, the organ of the Bulgarian trade unions, for instance, devoted a solid two out of its four pages to it), but also by all historical-political maganizes. The latest issue of the prestigious maganizine of the Bulgarian Ministry of National Defense, VOENNO-ISTORICHESKI SBORNIK, which is over 200 pages long, is almost entirely devoted to the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising -- as a Bulgarian holiday, of course.

The common denominator of all these articles and commentaries is that the Ilinden uprising was a "Bulgarian deed," or rather the deed of the "Bulgarians in Macedonia, who decided to organize the uprising." Let us recall that on 31 July 1948, RABOTNICHESKO DELO wrote about the same Ilinden uprising as being "a great Macedonian uprising, a glorious epic of the revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian people, of its irrepressible aspirations for freedom and independence."

This year, however, not a single speech, article, or commentary mentioned the Macedonian people or its national community, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which on 2 August most festively celebrated the 80th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising of the Macedonian people and the Krusevo Republic.

In order to give it the desired national character, all Bulgarian public information media, historians, politicians, and other speakers have linked the Ilinden uprising of the Macedonian people with a Bulgarian uprising that took place on 19 August 1903 -- that is, 17 days later -- on the religious festival of the Transfiguration at a completely different end of the Ottoman Empire. This uprising has nothing in common with Macedonia, yet this did not prevent the Bulgarians from also celebrating this year the anniversary of the Ilinden uprising as a jubilee of the "Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising," even though these are two entirely different uprisings.

MAMULA ON STABILIZATION AT LCY SESSION

AU042001 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2298 28 Jul 83 p 3

[Report on speech by Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense and member of the LCY Central Committee, from the LCY Organization in Yugoslav People's Army, in discussion at ninth session of LCY Central Committee, Belgrade, 25 July]

[Text] "The importance of the topic that the LCY Central Committee put on the agenda for today's session is extraordinary in all its dimensions, including those of defense and security. These are vital issues of our society that concern the future of the country and the Yugoslav revolution. Our League of Communists, and above all this forum, are most responsible for this, particularly since we contributed with the method of our work to the fact that the present stage of our development is burdened by many difficulties that basically are a product of subjective shortcomings," Branko Mamula said at the beginning of his speech. He continued:

"Of course, this does not explain not explain all the complexity of our situation and the causes leading to it. These were explained in a deductive way [na sintetizovan nacin] by the Commission of the Federal Social Councils in the materials presented to us. However, I am stressing this aspect because repeated failures by the League of Communists could have far-reaching negative consequences. As a vanguard of the workers' class and the entire community, we must at the same time offer ways out and rally all the available forces of our society, human and material, in pursuing them.

"We partly entered the stage of economic stabilization a few years ago, striving to solve the most urgent problems, and we adopted appropriate measures as a result of the harmonization of interests, primarily those of the republics and provinces. However, in implementing them, the disagreement with the basic interests of associated labor was made even more profound. Had we, as the League of Communists, had more socioeconomic and ideological understanding of what was happening in the world economy and in our own development, we would have more quickly and resolutely sought the proper solutions and the turnabout in business operations, as some countries have done, and at least we would have stopped the negative trends. Therefore, the assessment is widespread that the LCY and its Central Committee are the most responsible for the present situation and for finding a way out of it.

"In the economic field, we are presented with a comprehensive document as the program of long-term economic stabilization. With this socument, we want, in fact, to overcome resolutely the existing situation and to build such an economy and economic system on economic foundations as will open up new prospects for the further development of contemporary Yugoslav socialist society."

One Must Expect Extraordinarily Great Difficulties

"In the concluding part of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, it is stressed that in the course of its realization one will have to count on extraordinarily great difficulties, ideological disagreements, and conflicts, with resistance from all those losing positions, privileges, and economic advantages that are not acquired through work, and so forth. I would add that it can happen that in this process certain categories and structures that by their orientation are linked with socialism may not sufficiently understand us. It is necessary to count on the fact that there will be a tendency to return to the past and an insistence on who and to what extent one is responsible for reaching such a situation and for diverting the League of Communists by concerning itself with itself and exhausting itself on something that has passed, something that is very important as an experience. However, what is in front of us is far more important.

"Nonetheless, it is necessary to specially stress some experiences and to do everything possible so that they will not be repeated in the future. It will be necessary to make impossible the personal and group positions created in the system of decisionmaking, cadre appointments, and in building socioeconomic and political relations. Without doing this, a constant danger would exist that the objective interests of the broadest strata of society would be neglected and even flouted, and that the most creative and productive forces, which our society has in large numbers in all fields, would not be supported.

"Attempts will be made to defend personal and group interests by self-managing and even more frequently by national interests. However, there is no doubt that in the struggle for economic and social stabilization the basic moral will be affirmed that one must live from the quality and results of his work and that the most progressive and generally working and honest people will decide in favor of such an attitude. One can fully believe this.

"The problem of solidarity will appear in a new light and will have its proper social function, and will not serve to cover idleness and to request things beyond and outside of what has been earned. A social seizure of everything that has not been created by work, and there is much of this in our society, and the taxing of the income and property of citizens will be one of the deep cuts made with far-reaching social consequences. This should not stop personal initiatives and efforts by citizens to work more because the socialist and social rule also is that everyone should contribute to meeting general social and common needs, according to his economic strength.

"Everything that is mentioned and planned in the stabilization plan opens up scope for an essential ideological and political strengthening of the League of Communists and a differentiation within it. The League of Communists must transform itself and be capable, while in motion [u hodu] and while pursuing its activity, of justifying its leading social role also in the new stage of our development. It is clear to us all that this will not be easy and quickly ensured."

Continuing his speech, Mamula drew attention to the fact that the arms race and competition between the blocs are approaching their culmination. The danger, particularly in Europe, is increasing. The conditions have also been created for other kinds of war, which is already being waged in the form of economic, technological, ideological and political, psychological and propaganda, intelligence, terrorists, and other pressures. Even Yugoslavia, which takes a prominent place in the struggle for peace in the world, could not avoid being attacked. For this reason, it is our duty to preserve the reputation we have acquired, and we can do this only if we overcome the difficulties that have arisen.

Army Members Will Work for Success of Economic Stabilization With All Forces

"The country's security will depend equally on our determination to persist on the road we have chosen, the goals of which we are revitalizing on the basis of the offered long-term stabilization program and making them more real than they had been in the previous period of self-managing construction. Thus, also, all our special military measures for the country's defense and protection strengthen their moral and material basis. We have always believed that even any possible disturbance of economic and social relations in the country would not jeopardize our concept and strategy of defense. The entire experience of new Yugoslavia demonstrates that the occurrences of danger for our freedom, independence, and territorial integrity had quickly rallied the working people and citizens of all social strata, peoples, and nationalities, irrespective of various problems they had encountered. We directly follow and are acquainted with the situation in the Yugoslav People's Army and in other armed forces and defense structures and we can claim that these structures are also now behaving with equal resoluteness, and the greater the difficulties in the society have been in recent years, the more this resoluteness has increased.

"By saying this I do not want to reduce the importance and sharpness of criticism directed by the Armed Forces at this forum, and at other LCY forums, at inappropriate conduct, at excessively long uncertainty in seeking ways out, at tolerating the ideological, moral, and social deformations, at hushing up mistakes, and so forth.

"The Army in the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection has been, is, and will remain a strong factor of internal stability in our socialist self-managing system and one of the cohesive factors of Yugoslav society. It is for this reason that the Yugoslav People's Army is the object of hostile attacks at home and abroad with increasingly great frequency, and this must be expected even more in the future.

"Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army, as well as all its members, have known to appreciate the efforts and concern of our workers' class, the working people, and citizens to create in all situations the material and other conditions for building the Armed Forces and the country's defense. However, they have also known to include themselves, together with the workers' class, the working people, and citizens, actively and creatively in building society, and placing themselves at its disposal, whenever the need has arisen. At this historic moment members of the Yugoslav People's Army will also work with their forces for the success of the measures of long-term economic stabilization and for the country's full stability."

Our Greatest Reserves Are in Quality and Labor Productivity

"On this occasion I feel obliged to stress that the funds allocated for financing the Yugoslav People's Army have been spent economically, according to priorities, and selectively. In disposing of these funds, we have tried to behave in the spirit of the principles and intentions of the economic stabilization program. We have made efforts to optimize the volume of available resources and society's opportunities. Rationalization and economizing in the units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army have become regular behavior and thus far the results have been some 3 percent of the overall funds at the disposal of the Yugoslav People's Army. [as published] However, we do not consider that in this respect we have achieved everything that could have been achieved. The experiences and knowledge gained point to the fact that our greatest reserves lie in quality and productivity of labor, both in the numerous work collectives and in the narrow military formations and institutions.

Officers, soldiers, workers, and experts of all kinds are ready for even greater efforts. Our main preoccupation is to stimulate great results. As in society, the difficulties are generally known, and there also are special difficulties resulting from the nature of military organization.

"The results achieved in this field have enabled us with the same number of cadres to meet the increased demands for new arms and equipment, and the demands of the system of leading and commanding, the school and scientific research institutions, the repair workshops, and others. In recent years, the number of officers in high and higher commands has constantly been reduced, while their knowledge and experience has been extended by improving the organization and method of work, and by increasing work efforts. The quality and results of training troops are constantly increasing. We hope that the further successes in this field will enable us to reduce the terms of military service in coming years.

"We are involving ourselves in the long-term economic stablization program also by a significant increase in the export of arms, equipment, and our own technology, by granting technical assistance, by engineering deals in building the military infrastructure in nonaligned and friendly countries. For several years, our imports of equipment and arms have been covered one and one-half to two times by our exports. Also this year, exports will be increased 25 percent, as compared with the last year. Measures are being taken to utilize even more completely our overall development and production capacities in the country for military exports. Real opportunities exist for this and we must utilize them."

Need For Finding a Longer-Term, More Stable, and Certain Way of Financing the Yugoslav People's Army

"The previous manner of financing the Yugoslav People's Army has demonstrated serious shortcomings in the regular payment of approved budgetary funds, and this, in addition to material and financial damage, also leads to the moral-political problem of broader social importance for the reputation of the Army and the Yugoslav community's attitude toward it. We also take this opportunity, within the framework of problems we are discussing, to point to the need for finding a longer-term, more stable, and more certain way of financing the Yugoslav People's Army, so that the allocated funds for its needs may be utilized the most economical way. This is not possible without long-term and stable planning of the Army's modernization and all other kinds of expenditures.

"In conclusion, I emphasize that the basic value of stabilizing behavior in the Yugoslav People's Army is the fact that among Communists and the largest possible number of members of the Army, we develop and strengthen the realization that the measures of economic stabilization are long-term in nature and all-embracing, that they offer a real way out of difficulties, and that, in addition to economic, they also have extraordinary social and political importance. These are the key problems to further development of our society on the foundations of self-management, a strengthening of its defensive power and reputation in the world," Branko Mamula said.

MAMULA CONFERS WITH GDR DEFENSE MINISTER 4 AUG

LD050238 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG) -- Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, held talks today in Kupari with General Heinz Hoffman, Politburo member of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense of the German Democratic Republic. The talks were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and covered questions of cooperation between the armed forces of the SFRY and the German Democratic Republic, particularly in the military-economic field.

INCREASE IN SLOVENIAN MEAT PRICES CONFIRMED

LD042203 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Aug (TANJUG) -- The Council of the Republican Community for Prices of Slovenia today confirmed the proposed new retail prices for fresh meat. Due to increased breeding expenses, the price of young beef increased by just over 16 percent, while the price of beef, veal, and pork increased by almost 29 percent. As explained by the Republican Committee of Information, today's increase has brought retail prices into line with the wholesale prices that large meat consumers, such as catering and tourist work organizations, have been paying for some time.